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# MIDDLESEX COUNTY

*and*

# ITS PEOPLE

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*A History*

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By EDWIN P. CONKLIN

*Co-Author of South Jersey: A History; History of Reading and Berks County, Pennsylvania; History of New York State; Pennsylvania: A History; Municipalities of Essex County, New Jersey*

ASSISTED BY A NOTABLE ADVISORY BOARD

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*VOLUME I*

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1927

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# FOREWORD

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THE MONTHS that have passed since work was begun on the present "Middlesex County and Its People" have seen a thorough combing of the historical archives of the county by the editor and the capable and loyal staff of editors, contributors and advisers. In sorting the material resulting from this research there has been made an earnest effort to retain the essential and disregard the inconsequential, to interpret the present in the light of the past, and to trace to fundamentals the causes and effects of present-day conditions in social, political and economic life. Much encouragement and aid has been met in the course of the compilation, and it was this attitude on the part of the citizenship of the region that made the work in its present form possible.

This brief note to the public would not be complete without sincere expressions of appreciation of the aid and support of the following board of editors, contributors, and advisers, with particular emphasis upon the work of Frederick W. Coburn, of Lowell:

Frederick W. Coburn, Special Writer Boston Papers, Assistant Editor "Courier-Citizen," Lowell; Frederick L. Putnam, Assistant Clerk of Courts, Middlesex County, Melrose; Allen French, Author, Concord; T. Harrison Cummings, Librarian, Public Library, Cambridge; Robert B. Somers, Business Manager Waltham "Free Press Tribune" for years, Waltham; James F. Bigelow, Ex-City Engineer, Marlborough; Charles Bruce, Ex-Mayor, Real Estate, Everett; Leverett Holden, City Clerk, Malden; James G. Haggerty, Publisher, Woburn; W. E. Twombly, Publisher Reading "Chronicle," Reading; T. Price Wilson, Publisher, Winchester; Harris M. Dolbeare, Editor Wakefield "Daily Item," Wakefield; Charles Parker, Editor Arlington "Chronicle," Arlington; William Preble Jones, Former Editor Somerville "Journal," Somerville; Fred S. Piper, M. D., Lexington; Frederick G. Carpenter, Town Clerk, Groton; George H. B. Turner, Editor "Turner's Public Spirit," Ayer; Horace H. Potter, Retired, Natick; Frank F. Gerry, Town Clerk, Sunbury; John M. Merriam, Lawyer, Framingham; Orrin S. Fowler, City Official, Maynard; Fred O. Welsh, Town Clerk, Hudson; Owen D. Childs, Mayor, Newton; Edmund H. Stevens, M. D.,

Cambridge; General Clarence R. Edwards, Boston; Michael E. Fitzgerald, Superintendent of Schools, Cambridge; Ralph Smith, Clerk of the Court, Cambridge; Joseph E. Gendron, Somerville.

At the inception of the work the publishers made the following statement: "The production of this history is undertaken in the confident belief that it will constitute a highly commendable addition to the historical literature of Massachusetts and a work unsurpassed in its field." Viewing it from the vantage point of completion, it is felt that the pledge then made has been held as a high aim, and that this aim has been, in large measure, realized.

THE PUBLISHERS

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# MIDDLESEX COUNTY AND ITS PEOPLE

# CHAPTER I

## THE STORY OF THE LAND—GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Middlesex County is a district which had an attractiveness about it which led to a very prompt settlement of its area when once the region had been explored by the pioneers of the Massachusetts Colony. That attractiveness has not waned as three centuries have added their history to the territory. Nearly a million people delight to call it their home, and the charm of the land draws visitors by the thousands within its borders. And there is good reason for the affection and admiration with which it is held, for it is a little world all by itself. Here may be found many of the industrial and social features of the world at large, races, conditions, geographical and geological aspects, sometimes in full size, more often in miniature. There is a variety of terrain that is seldom found in so small an area, for the county contains only a bit more than eight hundred square miles. Middlesex is densely populated, particularly in the east, but there are left, even in the most densely populated of its cities, splendid parks, wooded hills. The county reminds the visitor of one great park. The basins of the most famous of its rivers, the Charles and Mystic, have been bordered with parkways. Seldom in one county can one find such diversity of mountain, hill and plain; rivers, swamps, meadows, lakes, although these are more often called ponds; preserves, such as the Middlesex Fells, or the Waverly Oaks. the most ancient group of oak trees in New England. There are ten thousand acres reserved and maintained, simply for the public use and enjoyment.

**Geologic Changes**—Back of the charming diversity are the geologic changes covering ages. As we find the country now it consists of what is known as the Boston Basin, the Rim and the upland, or peneplain reaching away to the northwest until it emerges into the true Appalachian highlands. The basin is all "made land," that is, it is soil brought there by the rivers such as the Mystic and the Charles; soil deposited by the glacier, for all Middlesex has been profoundly changed by glacial action; and some of its soil reclaimed from the sea or river by man.

The basin, or flood-plain, is the seat of most of the population of the county, the towns and cities starting with Everett and South Malden, circling around toward the south by way of Medford, Somerville, Cambridge, Waltham and Watertown. The Newtons, and parts of the bordering towns are a part of the flood-plain. Moving in this same semicircle,

but a mile farther from Boston, one would be on the rim and passing through some of the most charming sections of the county. This section is perhaps the most diversified, for volcano, water, weather and the glacier have all had their part in the formation of it. To the west and north, rising in gradually increasing irregular waves, is the peneplain, or "almost plain" by which the topographer knows this broken, hilly, almost mountainous territory that to the ordinary eye is far from being a plain. But from a height it is rather level in the large, and the hills, with but few exceptions do not raise their heads much above the general level.

Long geologic ages ago, Eastern Massachusetts was once a land of extremely lofty mountains. Professor Davis estimates that they once rivaled the Rockies and Andes in height, lifting their peaks covered with the eternal snow into the clouds. But they are now mere remnants of their former grandeur, as only the stumps remain as the occasional very hard granite hill, known as monadnocks, from a typical mountain of the type in New Hampshire. So far were the surfaces worn away in this past age, the region became a plain through which the rivers made their sluggish way to the sea. One might better say river, for the Mystic, Neponset, Saugus and the other small rivers that now empty into Boston Harbor were all then tributaries of the Charles. The mouth of the Charles was much farther to the east, there being no harbor as we now see it. Just as the original Hudson made its way miles out beyond its present mouth, and plunged into the sea in a great water-fall besides which Niagara is a pygmy, so in smaller measure, the Charles drained a wide area and dropped into the Atlantic where the ship channel now lies.

Then came a great upheaval of the whole region; the plateau was thrust upward and the lazy rivers had to begin again their labor of cutting valleys that they might reach the sea. The new level of the land was slightly tilted from northwest to southeast; the highest section now being the northwest corner of the county. This re-cutting of the surface by the rivers is responsible for much of the present form of the land with its widened valleys, soft topped hills, and general irregularity of surface.

Then came the third great change, and this geologically recent, say from six to ten thousand years ago, the grinding of the glacier, and the attendant shifting of soils, the creation of dams, and other features. The ice cover that flowed down from the north may have been a mile thick in many places. It covered the highest of the hills, ground and cut their tops, broke off great ledges, gouged out great hollows. The debris that it made dropped later in most unexpected places, filling what had been a lake, stopping the flow of a river and creating another

lake or sending the stream off in a far different direction than that in which it had flowed. Perhaps the greatest change it produced, or what most profoundly effected man's use of the county, was, that it pushed the surface soil ahead of it, and left a region denuded of fertility, where only the place where it left some mixture of sand, clay and stones, a brew of its own making, was productive. Compared with sections farther south, the land that our forefathers settled was comparatively barren, ill suited to cultivation. The weight of this enormous mass of ice caused the land to sink a number of feet, and the old mouth of the Charles with its wide valley became what is now Boston Harbor, and the streams which were formerly its tributaries were separated into unconnected rivers. One feature of the landscape left, and made, by the glacier, which is found in its perfection in this region, is the soft oval rounded hill called the drumlin. The Standard Dictionary defines a drumlin as "a lenticular compact mound of till, having its longest axis in the direction of the local glacial movement striation." Winter Hill in Somerville is a good example of one of these hills, which were shaped by the forward movement of the glacier being retarded by some hard bed-rock, and being made to leave the soil that it carried, in regular rounded hills, narrow and clean cut. It is said that nowhere in the world can drumlins be better studied than around the Boston Basin.

A description of the Boston Basin, more scientific and complete, is that given by Everett Lamont Getchell from which the following is practically a quotation. The area included in the Basin is not only diversified but is of great geologic interest, containing a large variety of rocks. In fact the topography is so largely dependent upon the underlying strata that an understanding of the basic features is absolutely necessary to a correct interpretation of the broad features of the region. It is not, however, proposed to give an extended account of the geology.

**Rocky Formations**—There are four great classes of rocks to be found here:

1. The Plutonic rocks, those which were consolidated at a great depth below the surface, such as the granites, porphyry, etc.
2. The aqueous and stratified rocks, composed of the sediments worn away from the old upland and laid down in the ancient seas, then subjected to enormous pressure, hardened into rock, and subsequently raised above the sea. The conglomerates or "pudding-stones" of Roxbury and the Nahant rocks are among the oldest in the world.
3. The eruptive rocks, formed from the ejectments from volcanoes.
4. The metamorphic rocks, produced by the alteration of older rocks through heat, subjection to burial and pressure, and to atmospheric

agencies. Examples of these are the felsites of the Middlesex Fells and the Somerville slates.

Spread over almost the entire surface of the basin, and covering most of the underlying rocks, often to great depths, is a mass of unassorted clay, sand gravel, and boulders—glacial till—brought down from the north by the great ice sheet. This enormous body of till or drift has given the region its characteristic features, since the most of it was deposited in the form of rounded hills called drumlins, and still more as large irregular masses of sand and gravel. The ice tore boulders from ledges, and in some cases dug basin-like hollows in the rock. The many ponds, lakes and water-falls which add so much to the natural beauty of the region are the direct result of glacial action. The transported drift blocked many of the old valleys, damming the outlet of the old streams, and thereby produced many of the ponds and swamps that are so common. It filled the channels of many of the rivers, turning them from their former courses, and by thus diverting them turned them into new channels, where they came upon hard rock ledges, producing cascades and rapids. A type example of this may be found at Hemlock Gorge, Newton Upper Falls, where the Charles now cascades over hard conglomerate.

In other words, the land has witnessed great geologic changes in the past. Where once were great mountains, are now but worn down sections, and the hill on which we now walk is of rock that was once buried a mile deep at the base of a mountain. In other places we may sit on rocks that formerly were the muddy bottom of the ocean, at a time when the waters had not even cooled from the primal creation. Just outside of the county are granitic hills where once were volcanoes greater than Hecla and Vesuvius today, and grander than they in their terrific explosions. When one strolls through the beauties of the famed Middlesex Fells, one is among rocks more ancient than even the volcanic remains of the granite hills, for these strata were buried by the volcanic eruptions from the Quincy volcano, and their whole structure changed by the heat and pressures of the overlying lava.

The smooth rounded hills are mute witnesses of the time when the whole territory was covered with thousands of feet of solid ice, the last great change save one that the region has undergone; for this huge mass of ice depressed the surface to a considerable extent, and upon the retreat of the glacier the land rose somewhat, as numerous old sea beaches now far back from the water, show. Some of the lasting effects of the glacial age are seen when we view the topography of the country from such a height as the tower in General Lawrence Park. We see scattered over the level terrain, a large number of hills similar in shape and in trend, composed of sand, clay, gravel and stones of all

sizes. These drumlins are the remnants of material scraped off the surface of the land as the ice-sheet came down from the region of Labrador and Hudson Bay. The shining lakes, glistening like diamonds in their turquoise setting of the forest, are also due to the former presence of the glacier; while the ice-sheet robbed New England of her fertile soil, and so made a century of colonization here a bitter struggle for existence, it added to those picturesque features which give such a charm to the country.

**General Description**—To obtain a comprehensive knowledge of the region which is now comprised in Middlesex County, one should visit typical parts of it and study the land in detail. The part nearest Boston, the "Flood Plain," while the most populous, is possibly the least interesting because of its general flatness, and so completely hidden by the houses and factories of that population. The industrial, or the historic claims the attention; one forgets to look for the ancient story of the land to which came the Puritans, one fails to realize that the extensiveness of this plain with its meadows and water-courses was the very reason of its settlement by our farmer forebears.

But if the visitor will but make his way along the Charles on the southern border of the county he soon will feel the charm of the country, and read something of its story. The wide valley tells of a day (geologically speaking) when this was a vast stream, of a time when the melting waters of a fast retreating glacier rushed through the district on its way to the sea. The old bed, or bottom of the Charles near its former outlet is several hundred feet below sea level, and of a width that indicates how great was the water flow of this now placid small stream. We have to go only a few miles to Watertown to find the small remains of the wide waterfall where the hard bed-rock formed a barrier, and refused to be worn down to the low levels farther down stream. At Waltham the winding stream is now only about forty-five feet above the level of the sea, and at its highest, the Charles is only a hundred and fifty feet above the sea. In historic times, if Professor Horsford be right, the lower Charles was not only navigable, but so inviting that the hardly Norsemen of the year 1,000 sailed up its lower reaches and established on its banks the first large settlement of the white race in America. Perhaps they threw across the river a dam, which served, while it lasted, to form a fishing spot that became a favorite resort of the Indians. Of this we can be certain, that six hundred years after the mythical settlement of Norembega, Sir Richard Saltonstall with companions, landed near the same spot where the Norsemen are supposed to have located, and set up his home and goods. Of the ponds, brooks, small streams and springs that characterized the region at that

time we have some suggestion, for the region was named Watertown. Of the fine forests, there are still remains, such as the oaks of Waverly.

Continuing on towards the southwest from the Charles a few miles brings one to the cluster of lakes, of which the Cohituate is the largest, on which the future water supply of the peopled district to the east is dependent. And from this region does the longest stream within the country start on its sinuous journey to its juncture with the Merrimac at the north. The Indian name for the stream was Musketaquid, or "grassy brook," which well describes the river famed as the Concord. It is a typical glacial stream, flowing through what is the bottom of an almost drained lake. The fall of the stream is exceeding small, and in places the flow is so slow as almost to become stagnant. The meadows which form its banks gave it value to the first settlers, for it not only supplied early and late pasture for the cattle, but quantities of hay could be cut. The land in many places sloped so gradually to the stream, that it enabled the pioneer to have the widest variety of soil and drainage on one compact farm. The Merrimac River, famous for the water-power that made possible the speedy and altogether extraordinary development of industrial Lowell a century ago, has but a small part of its length in the county. It drains, indirectly, the greatest portion of the county, particularly the north and west. Where the Concord joins the Merrimac, there are falls on both rivers within a mile. Here from time immemorial the Indian had his wigwam and fished; and here the white man lured by the power of the water founded his industries. It is one of the regions that was never a solitude; the echoes of human voices ever mingled with the sound of the falling waters. In the extreme northwest corner of the county is Watatic Mountain, 1,847 feet above the sea, the highest land in Middlesex County. It was a landmark for the Indians, and is a favorite resort of the whites. On its top is a pile of stones. According to an Indian legend, every one who visits the summit must add a stone to the pile or suffer endless ill-luck. Probably the finest, certainly the most extensive view of the highlands of the county may be had from Watatic.

The fourth section of the county is that forming the east tier of towns. Than it there is no part more beautiful, for here we have the glacial lakes at their best. From Swan and Martins ponds in North Reading, through the wonderful lakes of Wakefield, we reach Spot Pond which, in spite of its unimpressive name, is not only a beauty spot, but the source of the water supply of three towns. Just south are the drumlins of Medford and the level flood plain again of the Mystic River along which the first settlements in the county were made.

The Middlesex Fells, with its Spot Pond, is the best place from which to gain an understanding of most of the lower part of the county.

This is one of the largest reservations in the country, covering more than 2,700 acres, the most of which has been retained in its pristine wildness. It contains the water supply of Melrose, Malden and Winchester. Climbing to the old Bear Hill observatory, one reaches the highest point in the Fells. To the north, one looks beyond Stoneham to Reading. South stretches the broad expanse of the Fells with its dozen ponds, and more round hills. At the foot of the plateau lie Medford, Malden, the valleys of the Mystic and the Charles. While to the west rise the hills of Arlington; southwest is Winchester. On the north and west is Woburn, with the dome of Wachusett showing. From few vantage places in the county can the topography be observed, or the lessons of the hills be better read. We see the county after three centuries of man's occupation; only by the use of the imagination can we visualize the rough, forested, somewhat barren country to which came our forefathers three hundred years ago.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLIEST RECORD OF INHABITANTS.

**Indian Occupation**—When the first settlers of Massachusetts landed they found, as had discoverers long before their time, that the country was occupied by a race of men different from any with whom they had ever been familiar. Because Columbus had found this race on what he supposed was the East India, they were called Indians. Although there were many families and tribes and nations of them, there was such a general likeness in features, character, habits and customs as to indicate a common ancestry, and to merit a classification as a separate race. Concerning their origin little has ever been found, the favorite theory of one age being displaced by the notion of another. Were they Jews, descendants of the lost tribes of Israel? Or were they the sons of wandering Phoenicians or Carthaginians? Or were the Western and Eastern continents once united by a land that filled a great part of the Atlantic, and from this fabled land came the ancestor of the Indian? Or did the Welsh at their time of strife in 1170, sail the deep and father this new race? Or could they have been of Scandinavian origin, for we have sagas recounting the adventures of Norsemen on our continent in the year 1000? Or were the Indians of Mongol descent coming from the northeastern part of Asia across a narrow strait in successive migrations? This is the most accepted theory, but who knows? Or can explanation be given of the races that preceded, probably by centuries, the Indian? There are evidences of more than one people, with a civilization far more perfect than that of the Indian, who held the land, but of whom we know little or nothing.

For nearly a half century the white race has been in contact with the American Aborigine, and still we are relatively unacquainted with him. Of the Indian, as our forefathers knew him, we have a number of accounts. But, after all, these sources of information are derived from the enemies and conquerors of the race, from a people who took their land, and who must justify their treatment of the original owners of that land. From the Indian, himself, we have little testimony. Before the white man had made friends with him, they had been turned into enemies. What the Indians said among themselves, or thought, we know little since they admitted none into their inner councils. There was no one to record among the Aborigine his own history, and it

cannot be expected that the Pilgrim who lived in terror of the whooping avenger, could be wholly impartial in his records.

We have only the vaguest idea of the numbers of this race that held sway over two great continents. It has been estimated that in the day of Columbus there must have been in North and South America 150,000,000; another authority, if authority there can be, says, "Never was the number of the Indians more than 15,000,000." Dr. Trumbull estimates the Indians resident in New England as never more than 123,000. In the winter of 1617, the "plague" almost depopulated the country. When the English landed at Plymouth, they saw very few Indians or any evidence of former large numbers. Yet at this time there were supposed to have been at least ten thousand in Massachusetts alone, and more than this in the adjoining districts. There were enough, had they combined forces, to have made the settlement of this country impossible. Of more than that we cannot be certain. In the three centuries that the former inhabitants of Massachusetts have been in contact with the white race, they have completely melted away. The few Indians one now sees when touring the land, are mongrel descendants of tribes that never held the territory, now the Commonwealth.

Possibly the Indian was not fitted to survive. Perhaps he *had* no place in the sun, but must give way to the superior "Kultur" of a superior race. To the Pilgrim Fathers they were but heathen, "without rights or privileges," to be converted if possible. They had a crude language and crude ideas, without means of writing other than picture writing. A piece of charcoal, a bit of birch bark, and the Indian could make a set of symbolical hieroglyphics, a scrawl in pantomime, which would convey something of what was in their mind. But without alphabet or writing, or even anything more permanent than a hide, there were no possibilities of any literature of historical records. Most of their literary efforts were inscribed on bark and sent by messenger to a neighboring family, but even these letters, covered with crude symbols were made so as to conceal what they were meant to convey, from the eyes of the uninitiated. Yet this was a means of calling councils, giving warnings, and conducting business. Some of these picture-writings were quite elaborate, and the few specimens now preserved have served to arouse the curiosity of many a savant; but our fund of knowledge of the Indian has been increased but little by anything in the guesses made from these curious symbols. The Indian never learned to become a ready writer; he was a speaker, and his highest literary efforts were those of the debate at the council fire, or the rare oratorical flight of the chief when recounting his difficulties to the whites or before a neighboring tribe.

**Indian Characteristics**—The Indian seems to have had few of the arts and graces that add to the enjoyment of life. His music, if such it can be called, was a succession of lugubrious sounds, mostly sounded in one key, or even strung along on one note. His dance was nothing but a series of shuffles or high leaps. Force was the supreme aim in both, the louder the vocal noise, or the more extreme the physical exertion, the better it expressed his feeling. He didn't seem to even care for conversation; silence taking a prominent place in social intercourse, interspersed with a few gutturals and grunts, as the spirit moved, or the mind evolved an idea. He had no home, no permanent abiding place. He pitched his tepee or made a hut where he could live with the least exertion. Clothes were seldom provided in sufficient quantity to keep him warm; in winter he simply existed, endured, hibernated. He had to be rugged, hardy, fit to endure, else he failed to survive, and few of them did. When he passed on little was made of the event and no monument or memorial was erected to perpetuate any memories.

An incident of the first years of the Pilgrim is illustrative. On a bitter March day, 1621, Samoset, a leader of his tribe, entered the settlement at Plymouth. Mourt, than whom there are few that have recorded the early contacts with the Aborigine more interestingly, says: "He was naked with only a leather girdle around his waist, with a fringe about a span long... We cast a horseman's coat about him." When he left Plymouth five days later, "We gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist." The readiness with which the Indian received cast off clothing would suggest that the reason he did not wear more clothes was because he did not have any more, and would not work hard enough to get them. Perhaps it might be kindlier to suppose that it was the extreme difficulty of getting things that prevented the Indians from having them. There seems to be no question, however, that the New England savage was lacking in the energy that one would expect to go with his fine physique. He was a splendid animal, and "his belly was his God." He would work only when he had to, and was quite expressive in his contempt of one who would. Labor was for the squaw, and he was contemptuous of both. No greater insult could be offered an enemy than to call him a "woman," nor could any greater or more contemptible a punishment be meted out to a captured foe, than to make him labor with the squaws.

Naturally the whole manner of living was lacking in most of the comforts of life. An open patch in the forest, where the scratching of the dirt was easy, and a few articles of food might be grown by the women, was the site of their villages. Usually these places were by the rivers or seas, since fish could be taken without much exertion. The men had their wooden bows and flint tipped arrows. They also had odd

shaped stone axes, and a few rude implements of wood. Both the hide tepee and the thatched shack were used for homes, although the rock caves were not disdained. Concerning metal the Massachusetts Indians seemed to have had little knowledge. Copper knives of very good temper, were the possessions of a very few; but these seem to have been gotten in trade from the tribes around the upper Great Lakes. Domesticated animals were not known. The plow and the hoe were crooked sticks, only rarely was the point of either shod with stone. Maize was the one cereal raised, and pumpkins, squashes and beans comprised the remaining list of agricultural products, except tobacco, which seems to have been cultivated in parts of Middlesex County, even to the north line. With these few plants, and a number of roots and herbs that grew wild, the Indian eked out his food supplies with the denizens of the field and forest that fell to his bow. He lived on what he could get close at hand and easily. The constant presence of the squirrel taught him nothing concerning foresight and saving. What surplus there happened to be was stowed in rough crocks, and poor shelters. If it lasted through the winter, well and good; if not, he tightened his belt and slept as much as he could until the spring brought the game of the woods to him, or the rivers thawed sufficiently to fish.

As was natural, such religion as he had was connected with the luck of life. Manitou was their good spirit, who guided their affairs, helped them in the hunt, kept their few with their scalps intact. Always they worried for fear Manitou might go to sleep and forget them. There was also the idea of a bad spirit, or many of them, who inhabited the air. He was the instigator of all their troubles, and the medicine man, who was almost equal to the chief in influence, was kept busy trying to ward off the malevolence of these devils of the air.

The picture of the Indian as drawn so far, has been rather dismal and uncomplimentary. But we are not to think that these early people were merely a superstitious lazy degenerate. His faults were the faults of a crude wild race; one just passing out of the childhood of mankind; his good qualities were those of the crude and childlike. He had survived in a fierce climate in a rather barren hard section. Massachusetts, and especially that part of the Commonwealth in which Middlesex County is located, supported the white man with all the superior mind and tools he claimed, only after a long and hard fight. The great wealth which it now possesses was not wrung from the soil, but from the materials brought in from other sections from which articles were made that found sale elsewhere. The county supplies the land on which to build, and some of that which goes into the buildings, but the county furnishes but a very small part of the food required to keep alive those who dwell in it. The savage was relatively numerous, until the plague

had almost decimated him just prior to the coming of the Pilgrims. He could live on the land, barring disease, which was more than the early settlers could do without aid from abroad or from the Indians.

Because he was a creature of the wild, his senses had risen to the acuteness of the wild animal. His eyes could see, his ears could hear sounds beyond that discernible by the white man's hearing. He knew the stars by night, and the signs of the tree by day, so that he could travel unerringly to his destination. Silent among his kind, he could talk with the bird and call the moose. The trees furnished him with thread, house tools, canoes; he knew which was best for his particular need. Roots of the forest were understood: which were food, which were medicine, which were poison. For his needs he manufactured, and in some cases, tribes set up factories and made articles which they traded to their brothers. There are a number of remains of arrow and pottery factories in New England. The Pequots and the Narragansetts of Rhode Island and Connecticut established mints and turned out coin. As a result they became one of the most powerful and wealthy of the tribes. True the coins were shaped pieces of clamshells, strung in strings, but the shell was capable of high polish and color, and they could be strung in many and unique patterns. This was called wampum, or wampum-peag, and the early settlers found it a valuable medium of exchange.

The Indian may have been lacking in industry as far as providing for his own need, but none would work harder for a friend. He was always poor, but none could be more hospitable. The first spring of the Plymouth settlement, an occasion arose that required two of the place to go to see Massasoit, the Indian chief. The found him so poverty stricken as to have no food to set before them that night, but they were welcome. They stayed all night at the invitation of the "king." The sagamore spent the night in the open while his visitors were given the tepee with its thin mat for a bed. Before the visitors had arisen, Massasoit had shot two large fish with his arrows, and on these the visitors breakfasted. Massasoit explained his sorrow that he could not have given them better entertainment, but such as he had was theirs, even though he went sleepless and hungry. Their code of honor was that of a child, but such as it was they held to it. They disliked to make a promise, but the promise once made, they were far more consistent in the keeping of it than their white neighbors. The opinion held of women was not high, yet the chastity of their women was inviolable. Like a child the Indian was normally truthful, but he could be as tricky as the worst when cornered. He hated falsehood, but was the best of liars. He was a child, perhaps an unspoiled child before his contact with the white man. Who knows to what height he might have arisen if left alone? The Iroquois Confederation gives us a hint. But contact

with those from across the sea was the ruination of him; he had not the stamina to stand the vices of the whites. And the plague which so reduced his numbers that he could not sweep into the sea the enemies who came in ships, was followed by a white plague which wiped him from the region.

One of the most marked characteristics of the Indian was that he seldom forgot a benefit, and never an injury. It was the misuse of the Aborigine that made him an enemy instead of a friend. He greeted the first new-comers in a spirit of friendship, but was met with trickery and treachery which he never forgot nor forgave. Columbus going to meet the first savages in full armor with weapons and soldiers was prophetic of the treatment of the savage ever after. The New England Indians had been hardly treated before ever the Pilgrims landed, and there is no doubt that the enmity with which the red men held them was due to this cause.

**Indian Depredations**—John Smith visited the coast in 1614, and secured "Near 11,000 beaver skins, 100 martin, and as many otters." A Captain Hunt who accompanied him was left behind to get more peltries. Instead he enticed twenty-seven Indians aboard his vessel and carried them off to be sold as slaves to Malaga. Smith robbed the natives; Hunt stole their persons. Is it any wonder that when the colonist arrived six years later the Indians held a great pow-wow and in their superstition had their medicine men lay a curse on the Pilgrims, and did all in their power to bring about the curse? Verrazano, nearly a century previous, had sailed along the coast, 1524. Somewhere on the Connecticut shore he caught an old woman and a younger, with several children. They argued over the matter of taking the young woman, who was about eighteen and well formed. Unable to decide who should have her, they compromised by taking a boy. In 1535, Jaques Cartier on the St. Lawrence was hospitably received by Donnacona, sachem of the tribes. For this kindliness he was carried off to France where he soon died. In 1605, Weymouth sailed into the Pemmaquid (Sagadahoc) River, kidnapped five of the Indians, brought them to Plymouth, turned them over to Ferdinando Gorges (he of the charter to Massachusetts) who wrote of the happening: "This accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of giving life to the plantations." In 1611, Edward Harlow captured five in the neighborhood of Cape Cod, and from elsewhere twenty-five others. One of these was Epanow, who learned English, found out why the white people were coming to America, and used his knowledge to bring about his return and escape.

This list of the known kidnappings of the New England Indians prior to the coming of the Pilgrims, helps one to understand the enmity in

which the early settlers were held. Three of the Indians, Nahanada, Epanow, and Squanto, managed to get back among their brethren; it is easy to imagine the tales they told, and the feelings they inspired among their race. The wrongs done by the early voyagers were paid for by the early settlers.

Not in the beginning were the fruits of former depredations reaped. When after a long wearisome passage, filled no doubt with forebodings as to what should happen when their small numbers started to settle among the savages, the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth. Shortly after, Samoset, friend and associate of Massasoit, his chief, came into the settlement greeting the newcomers with the words: "Welcome Englishmen!" He told them of the kindly nature of Massasoit, the sachem, who ruled in the district and of his benevolent intentions concerning them. Massasoit and his brother Quadena, came later to pay a visit, and after exchanging hostages made a treaty with Governor Carver, whereby there should be mutual friendship, commerce, and defense. Upon this foundation was builded the civilization of the savage, a strange structure whereby the heathen Indian was converted at the expense of his home, possessions and life. The Aborigine seems slow to have understood, and by that time his foes were too many. They became implacable enemies, killing where and when they could, and sounding out their rejoicings as they scalped or tortured those they captured.

The lack of cohesion among the tribes led to the eventual failure of their attacks on the whites. There were too many tribes; the tribes that might have joined forces were too widely scattered; they fought among themselves, or helped the English or French against their own race.

The tribe which inhabited the greater part of the present Middlesex County was the Massachusetts. Roger Williams says that "the Massachusetts were called so from the blue hills." Others give a different derivation, but it is likely that Williams knew what he was talking about. They were a great tribe until the plague had so greatly reduced their numbers, 1617, but it is supposed that there were only about a hundred of them in 1630 when settlements began to be made in the county area. Sylvester says: "The Massachusetts sachem was chief of the Wessagussetts, Ponkapogs, Nonantums, Nashuas, Neponsets, and a portion of the Nipmucks. Their territory lapped against that of the Pokonoket sachem Massasoit on the south, the Nipmucks on the west, and the Pawtuckets on the north and east. The territory of the Pawtuckets extended from Salem on the south to the north of the Merrimac River as far as Portsmouth, and to the Nipmucks on the west, taking in Essex and a part of Middlesex, and a part of New Hampshire, including the Pennacooks, Agawans, Naumkeags, Piscataways, and Accomin-

tas, and a few other minor families." Many of these are names which will come to the fore in local histories.

**Indian Relics**—All over the county there are to be found evidences of the former occupation by the Indians, particularly along the streams: the Charles, Mystic, Concord and the Merrimac. If the fishing was good, or game plentiful, or a protected fertile bit of meadow invited cultivation, there can be found the stone implements dropped by their original owners, and in some places evidences of Indian graves. Thoreau was asked, when on the shores of Walden Pond, where one could find Indian remains. He answered: "Anywhere, if one has eyes to see," as he poked out of the ground at his feet some Indian arrow heads. The accounts we have of the Indians living in the present Middlesex district prior to the coming of the whites are few and rather indefinite and uncertain. The main point for Indian settlement was the peninsula between the Mystic and the Charles rivers. Here, before the plague which so greatly reduced the savage population just before the advent of the English colonists, the headquarters of a large part of the Massachusetts tribe was located. It was a powerful nation whose dominions extended at one time over the greater part of the Commonwealth and sections of the neighboring states. From all over this wide territory they gathered, particularly near the end of the summer, with their maize, furs and other possessions to trade and fish. It was a sort of capital, well peopled always, but very largely so in the warm season. Here the various tribal leaders, the Sagamores, subjects of the Great Sachem of the Massachusetts, met for their pow-wows. According to one tradition, a hill called Squantum, in Dorchester, was the chief meeting place.

The glory and strength of the Massachusetts had departed even before the "plague" of 1615-17, this devastating scourge only finishing what had already started, the end of a dis-united warring race. A curious account of the plague and its causes is given by one Thomas Morton, who relates how a French vessel was seized by the Wampanoags and the most of the crew slain. One of the Frenchmen is supposed to have told the Indians "that God would punish and destroy them." To this the Aborigines replied, "We are so many that your God cannot kill us." A short time after says Morton:

> The hand of God fell heavily upon them with such a mortall streake that they died in heaps, as they lay in their houses, and the living that were able to shift for themselves, woulde run away and let them dy, and let their carkasses ly above ground without burial. For in a place where many inhabited ther hath been but one left to tell what became of the rest; the living being (as it seems) not able to burry the dead. They were left for the crowes, kites, and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectakle after my comming into these parts, that as I travailed in the forest nere the Massachusetts, it seemed to me a new Golgotha.

FIRST MEETING HOUSE, WOBURN

STATUE OF COUNT RUMFORD (BENJAMIN THOMPSON) ON GROUNDS OF PUBLIC LIBRARY, WOBURN

John Smith, writing of his stop in Boston Bay in 1617, says, "the pestilence carried off all the Massachusetts, some five or six hundred in number, leaving only thirty living, of whom the enemies killed all but two." Smith says he cannot vouch for the accuracy of this, wherein he was wise, for he had little opportunity to arrive at the facts of anything in connection with the Indians. About all we can surmise of the history of the vanishing Massachusetts savages is: That they had been a strong nation with headquarters extending from Everett to Watertown and going far back in the county; that certain fighting Indians from the northeast, known to the Massachusetts as Tarratines, of whom "Babhaba" was leader, attacked and slew great numbers of them; that the Mohawks were called to the aid of the Massachusetts, and treated them more hardly than the Tarratines; that then came the plague, after which probably both the Mohawks and the Tarratines destroyed what was left of the nation. Seemingly, for safety, the remnants of the tribe had become allied with the Wampanoags, for at the coming of the Pilgrims, the Wampanoag Sachem, Massasoit, seems to have been chief of all the tribes as far north as the Merrimac River. The land now in Middlesex, was apparently under the control of the sachem Nanepashemet, just previous to Massasoit. Tradition says he lived at Lynn before the invasion by the Tarratines, removing at that time to some hill between the Mystic and the Charles, which he fortified. It is well to remember that the organization of the Indian tribes was of such a loose character as hardly to merit the name. There are many divisions, very strange high titles which carried no authority, and numerous sachems.

Nanepashemet is of interest, because through his widow, "The Squaw-Sachem," came many of the Indian titles to the land in Middlesex County. The home of this Squaw-Sachem or "Queen," is claimed to have been in Concord, although several places in the eastern part of the county are also suggested as her capital. Probably the tribe had been reduced to a few hundreds living on the peneplain between the two rivers. Some time after the death of her husband, the Sachem, she had married the principal "Pow-wow" or Medicine Man, Webcowitz, or Wibbacowitz (there are several spellings). The marriage seems not to have conferred any regal powers to him, but this was not realized by the English who were careful to have his mark, with that of the Squaw-Sachem, on such deeds as were secured from the pair. Several of the deeds are still extant, and mention of them will be made in a later chapter.

**Treaty with the Indians**—This story of the early inhabitants of the county will close with two ancient accounts of the first settlers and their contact with the Aborigines. The first is from a book published in

England in 1622 by G. Mourt, which is usually known under the title "Mourt's Relation." Part IV of the work tells of a journey of Pilgrims from Plymouth "to the house of the Massachusetts," the first authentic mention made in the early annals of the settlers.

> It seemed good to the Company in general, though the Massachusetts had often threatened us (as we were informed), yet, we should go amongst them, partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke. For these ends the Governor chose ten men for his purpose and sent Tisquantum and two other salvages to bring us to speech with the people and interpret for us. We set out about midnight; the tyde serving us; we supposing it to be neerer than it is, thought to be there next morning betimes; but it proved neere twentye leagues from Plimouth.
>
> We came to the bottoms of the Bay, but being late wee anchored and lay in the shallop, not having seene any of the people.

The gist of the further account is, that the next day they went on shore and sent Squanto (Tisquantum) some distance in the country to find the Indians. Locating them, they came before Obbatinewat, a Sagamore friend of Massasoit who received them pleasantly, but informed them that the Squaw-Sachem lived beyond the river (Charles) and that she was an enemy of his. He, however, agreed to accompany them to the "Queene of the Massachusetts," for so he called her, thereby giving a wrong impression of the power and importance of the widow of the former chief of the nation.

Arriving at the place where the Queen was expected to be, they found the place deserted, and on the next day, October 1, 1621, went three miles into the country (towards Concord?) where they found cornfields with fresh gathered corn and a house which they destroyed. A mile or so farther on they came on a house unlike any they had seen before. It was built on a scaffolding six feet above ground, seeming to be a watch-tower. Beyond the hill, "in a bottome" was a fort, between forty to fifty feet in diameter, enclosed in poles forty feet high set as close as it was possible to plant them. On each side of this palisade was a trench "breast high." Within the circle was a house in which had been buried the former king, Nanepashemet. The location of this fortress is supposed to have been to the southeast of Mystic Pond in Medford. In 1862, a skeleton was exhumed together with a pipe with a copper mouthpiece, and by many was thought to be the bones of the Indian Sachem. On the top of a hill the visitors found another fort, where they were told Nanepashemet had been slain, probably by Tarratines in 1619.

Meanwhile the English had failed to find the folk they sought. Later in the afternoon women were met who fled at their approach. Corn was there in plenty. Only after some time and much persuasion would the Indian men come and greet them. Soon trading was carried on,

some few furs and maize secured, and the English parted with promises of friendship and more trade. It is but a simple story, but serves to show to what depths the Massachusetts had fallen when a few white men could travel over so much of the seat of their most populous settlement and be unable to find inhabitants. And how weak and beaten, when even the desecration of the grave fort of their chief aroused no fighting spirit within them. Reduced in numbers, low in spirit, without any comprehension of the value of land, it is not surprising that the Pilgrims bought up their patrimony with a mess of pottage.

It should be remembered when considering the careless way in which he parted with his lands, that he had no ideas of property corresponding with that of the English. In England possession of long standing, or the purchase of regularly measured sections, was recognized as ownership. The Indian knew nought of measurements, or of undivided possession of land. He moved from place to place, any part settled by others and abandoned might be taken by the next-comer. The land was held in common, and only the use of it was of importance. Manitou was the owner, and through his grace they were allowed to range the forest, plant the maize, and fish his streams. He was willing to lease or rent Manitou's property, or better, share use of it with the English. But it is doubtful that they ever understood what was meant by a sale; the deeds given by the Sachem were treaties made for the amicable association of two races. He had no right to sell what never belonged to him; even if it did not belong to his God it was owned by the community. The Indian never understood the fencing off of bits of land, and every time he was shut off from that which the great God had given to all, he was insulted and many of the difficulties that followed resulted from the inability of the Aborigine to understand the English idea of "property." He hated, as he would a treacherous friend, the white man who shut him off from the land he had generously shared.

**Indian Customs**—The following quaint and curious description of the Indian, as the early colonists about Massachusetts found him, was written by Thomas Lechford, of "Clements Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent." Lechford was the first law-practitioner of early Boston. He says:

> They (the Indians) are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover their shame. Seldome they are abroad in the extremity of Winter, but keep in their *wigwams*, till necessity drives them forth; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth: and for Winter they have boots, or a kind of laced tawed-leather stockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, and given much to singing, dancing, and playes. They are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords; by an absolute tyrranie. Their women are of comely feature, industrious, and doe most of the labor

in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is lesse grievious to them. They say *English* men much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women. And when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, Lazie *squaes*! but they are much kinder to their wives by the example of the *English.* Their children they will not part with upon any terms to be taught. They are of swarthy complexion and tawny; their children are born *white* but they bedawb them with oyle, and colors presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoicing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampom-peag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom* after the manner of checker-work, two fingers broad about their loynes. Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toyes in their ears. And the women, some of the chiefe, have faire braclets, and chaines of *wampom.* Men and women of them come confidently among the *English* . . . . They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will of late have called prayers, according to the *English* word. The *Powahe* labors himselfe in his incantations, to extreme sweating and weariness, even to extacie. The *Powahes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any *English* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powahe* is next to the King or *Sachem*, and commonly, when he dyes, the *Powahe* marries the Spua *Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have manie wives; they say they commit much filthiness among themselves. But for every marriage the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will attend diligently to anything they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English.* They live much better and peaceably for the *English*, and themselves know it, or at least, their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know so much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another. They live in *wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the house. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch* or *French*, and bring in the butt-end into the wigwam, upon the hearth; and so burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late they grind at our *English* mills,) Venison, Bevers, Otters, Oysters, Clammes, Lobsters and other fish, Ground-nuts, Akornes, they boyle all together in a kettle. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles and trayes, kettles, spoones, bever, furres and canoes. He is a *Sachem* (whose wife) hath her clean spoons in a chest, for some chiefe *English* men, when they come on guest-wise to the *wigwam.* They lye upon a mat, with a stone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the best entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongst them. They will not taste sweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and strong waters; and I have seene some of them in *English* or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long staves or halfe pikes, with pieces of swords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is most commonly all one style. They are many in number, and worship *Kitan*, their good god, or

*Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, because he doth them most harme . . . . Among some of these Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger, for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.

## CHAPTER III

### SETTLEMENT BY THE ENGLISH.

If one accepts the Sagas of the Norsemen as legitimate history, the settlement of Massachusetts, and of that part of it known as Middlesex County, was begun before the year 1,000. According to these tales, Bjarne, son of Herjulf, about the year 990, had been driven by adverse winds south of Greenland, by reason of which he came upon a strange land. Three times did he make this country before he was able to head his ship toward Iceland. A short time later, Leif, son of Eric the Red, set out on a voyage of discovery. He sailed first to Greenland, and thence south until he came to a pleasant country, which because of the size and plentifulness of its vines, he called Leifsbudir at first, but later Vinland. In 1002, his brother Thorvald also came to this Vinland; and in 1008, Thorfinn Karlsefne arrived at this same land in three vessels. With him were one hundred and sixty folk desiring to set up their homes in the pleasant country. According to the tradition, this colony remained three years, and was then abandoned. Other journeys were made, so the Sagas relate, which landed their voyagers at various later times. This is the tradition of the first white settlements. One may believe with the Danish authorities that they are true, or based on the truth; or one may accept the dictum of George Bancroft, who says they are "mythological in form and obscure in meaning." The controversy over the Norse Occupation has waxed and waned for a century, without any approach toward a conclusion.

When one realizes that Iceland is but 600 miles from Norway, Greenland only 150 from Iceland, and Labrador and Newfoundland no great distance farther, and very much easier to reach with the strong Arctic current pouring out of Baffins Bay as far as Cape Cod, to aid their ships, it does not seem incredible that these hardy rovers of the sea should reach Massachusetts. The Sagas claim to tell of the settlement of all these places mentioned, and with all their vaguity of language may have something of the truth concealed in them.

There is at least one man who not only believes the Saga story of the settlement of Vinland, but thinks he has located the place where the chief settlement was located. Professor Horsford thinks that this controverted colony was situated on the Charles River, not far from the line between Watertown and Cambridge. Here at the headwaters of the river, he suggests that the mythical city was founded. Whether

this was the place visited by Leif, and Thorfinn and Gudrid, his wife, or the Charles is "the river which flowed through a lake to the sea" it adds an interest to one's ideas of the time when first Europeans saw our land. Norembega may be but a myth, still it touches with poetry the oftimes dull history of the development of the Commonwealth.

Leaving the mythical and uncertain, we find the New England coast had been visited a number of times before any permanent settlement was made. Verrazano landed somewhere along these shores, probably south of Cape Cod, sometime in the year 1524. Sir Francis Drake visited the Cape in 1586, and is credited by John Smith with giving the land the title of New England. Gosnold came in 1602, John Smith in 1614, and to this last-named voyager there is to be credited the first bit of exploration in Middlesex for he sailed into Boston Harbor in 1614, discovered Shawmut and Mishawum, now better known as Boston and Charlestown. Returning with a most elaborate map of the section, he aroused the interest of Prince Charles enough to inspire him to give names to most of the bays, points and rivers on Smith's maps. Of these the only titles that remain is his own given to the Charles River, and Cape Anne which he called after Anne of Denmark, his mother. These previous visitors to the New England and Massachusetts shore did little else than arouse the enmity of the Indians by their kidnapping and thorough ill treatment of the Aborigine, rendering a "hard land" more difficult of permanent settlement by the Pilgrims and Puritans.

**First Patent**—The settlement of New England by the English was by two quite different strains of people, although coming from the same country. It was the Puritan who made up the company that founded Massachusetts as a colonization scheme; the Pilgrim made the first settlement. Although used synonymously the two were very different in politics and religion. The Puritans were members of the Established Church, but wanted to purify its doctrines and practices. They wanted to purify their church from the inside. The Pilgrims, on the other hand were on the outside of the Church, Seceders, Separatists. They rejected the authority of the church, refused to submit to any compulsion in the matter of religious beliefs or practices. They left England, literally, as pilgrims, without encouragement, protection or even a charter to the land on which they, practically by chance, settled, Plymouth. From 1620 to 1629, the Pilgrim ruled; with the advent of Endicott in 1629, the Puritan régime began. The Pilgrim had a patent from one of the Southern companies having charters to the country, to locate south of New York. But, hurried out on an unknown shore before they reached their destination, they soon discovered themselves to be without

rights to the place on which they had set up their homes. This mishap was repaired almost as soon as discovered, by sending the Mayflower on its return trip for a grant from the Northern Company. Under the date June 1, 1621, a patent was issued to John Pierce and his associates in trust for the Plymouth Colony. This grant was brought to Plymouth by the good ship "Fortune" in 1621, bearing the names of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and others whose signatures are illegible. The parchment document is now preserved in the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth, being the oldest state paper in New England.

We must go back to April 20, 1606, if we would start at the beginning of the patents which opened the coast of America to legal settlement by the English. On that date King James issued a charter, or "letters patent" to all the land between thirty-four and forty-five degrees north latitude, extending back one hundred miles. The territory was named Virginia after the "Virgin" Queen Elizabeth, and was divided between two companies known as the Northern and the Southern Virginia Companies. The dividing section between the jurisdiction of the two organizations was the strip between the thirty-eight and forty-first parallels, on which the first of the companies to establish a colony was to receive the right of control. It was expressely stipulated that no colony was to be founded within one hundred miles of another of a different company. To the Northern Company was given the right to locate between the degrees thirty-eight and forty-five; to the Southern, between thirty-four and forty-one; on the section from thirty-eight to forty-five, both might settle.

By this arrangement the Southern Company had all the better of it. But the minds of Kings are subject to change, and James, offended by Sir Edwin Sandys, Governor and treasurer of the Southern Company, removed him from office, and the Earl of Southampton, his successor, suited the King even less. The result was the issue of a new patent to the Northern Company which greatly extended its limits and powers. Of how greatly were the limits enlarged, none had the slightest conception. The new charter was issued, November 3, 1620, to the Northern Virginia Company, of whom Sir Ferdinand Gorges was head, under the title, "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling and governing of New England in America." The region allotted to this new company ranged from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degrees, north latitude, extending in width from the Atlantic to the westward to the "South Sea"; over this vast domain they were to have power to establish all needed forms of government. This patent broadened the territory covered from one hundred miles to an area that included from most of New Jersey to the south,

to the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the east, reaching to Washington, Oregon and North California on the Pacific.

**Granting of Lands**—The Northern Virginia Company soon began the granting of its vast possessions to various individuals, the first being given to Robert Gorges, December 30, 1622, which was all of the mainland "commonly known under the name of the Messachusiack" on the "north-east side of the Bay called or known by the name of the Messachusiack, for ten English miles towards the north-east and thirty English miles unto the main land through all the breadth aforesaid." Aside from John Smith, the only English who had visited this particular section, were the ten who came from Plymouth to trade and make treaties with the Indians, an account of which may be found in the previous chapter.

Robert Gorges, although Lieutenant-Governor of New England, made but a feeble effort which met with failure, to settle his domain (September, 1623), and died shortly after his return to England. His estate came to his brother John, who leased "all the lands within the Massachusetts Bay between the Charles River and the Abousett (Saugus) River, containing in a straight line five miles up the Charles River into the mainland northwest from the said Bay; the three miles in length from the mouth of the aforesaid river Abousett up into the main land upon a straight line southwest; and all the land in breadth and length between the aforesaid rivers." This area was granted to John Oldham and John Dorrill, and led to a great deal of trouble when another grant was given to the Massachusetts Company covering the same territory. John Gorges also conveyed January 10, 1629, to William Brereton, "all the land in breadth lying on the east side of the Charles to the easterly part off the cape called Nahant, and all the lands in length extending twenty miles northeast into the main land from the mouth of the aforesaid Charles River, lying also in length into the main land northeast from the said Cape Nahant; etc." The grants to Oldham and Dorrill were simply ignored in the Massachusetts Company Charter; that to Brereton was rejected by the Company with the proposition that the claimant join the organization and be given land.

**Massachusetts Company Charter**—All this leads up to the so-called Massachusetts Company Charter under which the settlement of Massachusetts by the Puritans was actually begun. This patent was issued to Sir John Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb, covering the area from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles River. The date of this parchment was March 4, 1628-9, and may be said to cover the boundaries of the original Middlesex County.

The ownership of this immense area changed hands before settlement of it was begun, Rosewell, Young and Southcote selling their interests to John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who with the remaining members of the organization formed a new company, with Cradock as Governor, who, despite elaborate preparations, which included the building of what is now the oldest house in the Commonwealth at Medford, never came to this country.

The Company outfitted a number of expeditions which were sent to establish colonies on the land. John Endicott was the leader of one of these which coming in the ship "Abigail" founded Salem, September 6, 1628. Endicott was practically the Governor of the New England colonies until 1630, although the actual control rested in England with Cradock. Reverend Francis Higginson arrived in this country in June of the next year in the "Boneventure," and the "Talbot" and "Lion's Whelp" came later in that same month. Winthrop did not reach Massachusetts until June 12, 1630.

The charter of the Massachusetts Company is too long for quotation at length, although a most interesting and important document. The full title of the paper is: "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." While given in March, 1628, its provisions were enlarged at later times, and additions made to the share holders. Under the charter the officers were to be: "A Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants who were to be elected at a meeting of the Freemen at a General Court on the last Wednesday in Easter." Other officials were: A Treasurer, Secretary of the General Court, Major-General, Admiral at Sea, and Commissioners on the United Colonies, etc. Religion was made the basis of voting power, Freemen being only those in good and regular standing in the Church. One might be irreligious if they pleased, but they had no voting power in the new community. A General Court was established by the document, which according to its provision was to "consist of" The Governor, the Assistants, and all the Freemen of the Colony, which was to assemble four times a year. This body chose officials, and enacted such laws as were deemed necessary. Shortly after the arrival of the colonists with Winthrop, at the first meeting of the General Court, the voting power of the Freemen was confined to the election of the Assistants. The latter body was to choose a Governor and Deputy, who with the Assistants were to make the laws and appoint those who were empowered to enforce them. Other changes were made but the judicial power was left with the Assistants for a number of years.

As a whole the charter was a remarkable document in that it contained the essential elements of a democracy, and granted by one Charles

I, who later lost his head because the Puritans of his country thought him a "tyrant, murderer, and a traitor." Yet he gave his consent to a charter which was given "so that the inhabitants may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed as their good life and orderly conversation may invite and win the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the true God and Savior of mankind."

One thing further should be noted in connection with the charter, particularly since it has reference to the original county of Middlesex, the western limit, the "south sea." If there had been no reduction of the area of the territory, if Massachusetts was as large as when first settled, it would have been a nation in itself and included the wealthiest part of the United States of today. As pointed out by Levi Gould and others, "that charter covered present locations of Troy, Albany, Buffalo, Dunkirk, Detroit, Kalamazoo, Chicago, Dubuque, Sioux City, Fort Laramie and many other cities to the western coast. It would take a strip out of the States of New York, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon; it would graze the border lines of California, Nevada and Utah, and through a claim to most of the waters of Lake Erie and Saint Clair have the power to control the mighty commerce of the Great Lakes." So much for the charter under which Massachusetts was settled and governed. Let us turn to the colonization of this vast tract of tremendous possibilities and resources.

**Colonization**—The English, as a race, are colonizers; the boast that the sun never sets on the English flag is no idle one. They have poked into all sorts of places and made themselves at home. They were the last to found strong colonies in America, and in the end controlled the country. At first the English efforts were failures; even their explorations were barren of results, although one of them, Sir Francis Drake, was the first commander to circumnavigate the world, and had made stays on both shores of the present United States. Shortly after this famous journey, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, established a colony on Newfoundland, which was a failure. The next year, 1584, and the years following this, Sir Walter Raleigh settled Roanoke Island off the Carolina coast. The experiment was a failure and a few years later had disappeared so completely that only the name of the place was remembered. However, Sir Walter's tales of the region led Elizabeth to honor it with her name, a name, Virginia, which clung even to the region far north of this settlement.

Persistence had its reward in the next attempt. In 1607 a hundred and twenty colonists were sent to Virginia by the London Company. They located on a river which they named in honor of their King, the James, the settlement being given the title Jamestown. Under the guid-

ance of John Smith this colony managed to survive the first bitter years, soon going into the tobacco-raising business with profit to all concerned. This colony was exporting grain, fruits and tobacco all before the first village had been started in New England. Even slavery had been introduced, 1619, before the first crop of maize had been planted by the Pilgrims in Massachusetts.

In 1620 a ship, whose name many are proud to mention in connection with their ancestry, the "Mayflower," set out from Plymouth, England. On the shortest day of the year, December 21, after a more than two months' voyage, there landed at Plymouth the first of the pioneers of Massachusetts. It is an odd coincidence that a company of religionists after having missed their destination in a warmer clime, should land on a bleak shore on the very day on which there was the least sunshine. One hundred and one, if we are to include Peregrine White, born after the arrival at Cape Cod, made up the number of this Plymouth Colony. They bravely set up their homes, the first being begun in defiance of what was to them, superstition, on Christmas Day. They even went further in their show of independence, and drank "beer" at night-fall. It was the foundation of a free state that was laid that day, rather than that of a shack for a "common house." Six other houses were built before the winter passed, all smaller than this first palatial twenty-foot first. By April, half of the group were dead. The hardships of that first winter have been told in verse and prose, so that they are known throughout the world.

In February, two Indians showed their faces, and the frightened Pilgrims set up their "great ordnances." On March 16, Samoset came to see them, and speaking in the broken English he had picked up from fishermen, made it clear to the settlers that practically all the Indians of the neighborhood had died in the "Plague" a few years before. Later Squanto accompanied Samoset, who brought the Sachem Massasoit and sixty men to conclude a peace pact with the Whites. The "Mayflower" returned to England in April, and the summer had enough of success in it to merit a "thanksgiving" in the autumn, the first "Thanksgiving Day" of America, celebrated with the eating of wild turkey. The years that followed the dangers and starvation of the first were filled with work and worship. They found themselves without legal right to the land on which they had located, but even though they were at odds religiously with the Mother Country, the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of all. In seven years, Plymouth had sent enough ship loads of fish, peltries, furs and "sassafras" to pay the 1700 pounds that had been borrowed to secure passage across the ocean, and the Colony was free to give its attention to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The

history of this first colony need not be carried further separately, since it was merged with the larger Massachusetts Company in 1629.

**The Puritans**—This new Company was new in more senses than organization, since it was formed by and had for its officials and settlers, a new type of people, Puritans. The Pilgrims had separated from the Established Church. They were non-conformists, disputing the domination of the civil and ecclesiastical powers in religious matters. They were literally pilgrims, wanderers from their native land, a proscribed sect, without protection or encouragement or rights. The Puritans were members of the Established Church, attempting to reform that body from the inside. They accepted the King as the head of the church, but objected to certain abuses that infected the organization. Their efforts at the purification of the church won for them the title Puritans.

It is somewhat difficult to state briefly the troubled conditions of that day, but some attempt must be made, for it is rather hard to understand the reasons behind this movement in America, or the impulses that led to it. The Spaniard sought this country for wealth; the Southern Virginia Colony was founded that the craving of certain men for great estates might be appeased. But the folk who emigrated to New England came not for wealth, nor primarily for land; they wanted freedom of worship, comfort of mind. They brought a novel idea into the settlement of a country, and the spirit that actuated the early Puritans, gave a special character to the life of New England that never has been quite lost. Much that later happened to and made our nation, is traceable back to the Puritan strain.

In the early period of European civilization, there was but one church. This church had a strong organization, its center was at Rome. Strict conformity was required of all the members, in thought and actions. So strong was this church that many of the nations divided their sovereignty with the Pope. Shortly after the discovery of America, a strong movement arose in opposition to the Church. The "Reformation" was born at this time. In England the reformation movement was backed by Henry VIII, and England threw off the authority of the Pope and formed what was called the "Established Church." But the difficulty of any idea is, that once started, no one can predict where it may lead. Some reasoned that if it were wrong for a Pope to rule religion, then it was likewise wrong for anyone to have authority over the conscience. At least there was much opposition to the rule of bishops, particularly one John Laud, and to the episcopal form of government generally. It was conceived that a congregational form was better, that is, a church where the members of the congregation were the source of authority. There were also a number of customs that were thought to be mere

superstitions, elaborate ceremonies in connection with worship were considered "vain and useless"; also there should be direct teaching of the Bible from the pulpit. These are some of the ideas held by the Puritan which led him, not only to break away from the English church, but from England. The Puritan ideals were self-reliance in thinking, simplicity and right conduct in living, and independent control by the community of its own affairs. That this last notion meant more than religious "affairs" was evidenced by the taking possession of the English government by Cromwell and the Puritan party in 1649.

At the time of the Puritan settlement of America, they were not strong enough to have much influence in England, and were persecuted and punished for their ideas and acts. This led to one division of the Puritans leaving the country, or desiring to. It was time for a leader to arise and show the way, and this leader came in the person of John White of Dorchester, the man now known as "the Founder of Massachusetts." Although persecuted and in disgrace often, the Puritans were not poor. John White, under the desire to migrate with others of his faith to a land where they might be free, conceived the idea of the Massachusetts Company with a sufficient capital to land and care for a colony in New England, which should be freed from the disasters that all but ended the experiment at Plymouth. The Company was duly organized in Dorchester in 1627, uniting with a larger group in London. It was simply a stock company, not unlike those formed today for the development of a real estate proposition. The subscribers supplied the funds by which some might go and settle the vast tract patented to the Company by the King. Many of the shareholders never had any intention of going abroad, probably some subscribed because it looked like a money making adventure. It must not be overlooked, that, whatever the reasons the founders had for putting their money into the company, the main intention was to establish on Massachusetts Bay, a place where men could worship God as they pleased. This wealthy group of merchants and prominent people of England, asked for and secured a most extraordinary charter which gave them almost complete freedom of control over a wide domain, and what was more important, over their own affairs. Certain shareholders went even farther later, and boldly said they would quit their opposition to the church in England and go to the newly established settlements in Massachusetts, *if* they were permitted to take the charter along and have the right to manage their own affairs in America. There seems to have been no trickery about this; evidently the men concerned were big enough in England to have influence and power.

It was this move that led to changes in the ownership of the stock in the Massachusetts Company, and the coming of such men as John

Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, John Humphrey, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Bellington, and a dozen men of like ability to throw their influence, wealth and life in the colony across the sea (1630).

**Arrival of Winthrop**—These were not the first of the Company to locate in New England, for as early as 1628, John Endicott and Francis Higginson, the preacher, had set up their homes at Salem, with meeting-house and church society. Winthrop and his ship, the first of seventeen vessels carrying a thousand colonists, arrived at Salem in the summer of 1630. If it were a curious turn of fate that brought the Plymouth folk to shore on the shortest day of the year, it is equally curious that Winthrop should have arrived in Salem on the longest day of the year, and the "passengers landed upon a world of ripe strawberries, of roses in bloom, and of all the fresh and fragrant delights of the rarest thing on earth, 'a day in June.' " They were royally greeted by Endicott and the others at Salem; the fleet of ships came into the harbor one by one; invitations were given to stay and set up homes in the community. Everything was lovely as it should be after a long but fairly comfortable voyage, when friend was greeting friend, and a pleasant prospect stretched out before them all. But when Winthrop had looked the situation over more at length, he seems not to have been wholly pleased with the rock-studded terrain of Salem, and decided that this was not the place for the capital of the colony. Accordingly he sailed up Boston Bay to look over the outlets of the Mystic and Charles rivers. The point on which Charlestown is now built, seems to have caught the eye of the leader, and most of his friends chose that as their abiding place. The strong Dorchester element located on what was to become a part of Boston, but is still called by the title which these pioneers gave it, Dorchester. This was at the mouth of the Neponset. Another group, under Sir John Saltonstall, settled along the Charles at what is now Watertown, Reverend George Phillips, the eloquent preacher of the party going as far as the "Falls" to make his home. Some of the voyagers stayed in Salem and added strength to this never strong colony. The ships unloaded their cargoes and were sent back with messages of cheer and happy expectation. The great adventure had begun; the settlement of Massachusetts was assured.

Charlestown seems to have been the first choice for the capital, although the original plan called for its location "three leagues up the Charles." Anyway, the "great-house" was built at Charlestown in which were stored the surplus goods of the colony company, and which also served as a house of worship until 1636. There was already a settler at Charlestown, or several, to be accurate; folk who had joined Walworth, or Walford, the smith, whose presence there is not explained by the

CHARLES CHOATE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, WOBURN

ORDINATION OF REV. THOMAS CARTER, FIRST MINISTER IN WOBURN, 1642

documents of that day. Evidently he was not pleased with the new arrivals, nor did the Puritans appreciate his being there since he had ideas not in accord with theirs. To him must be given the credit for founding the place which was the first to be settled in Middlesex County, having probably gone there some time about 1625-6. Greater credit should be given to Ralph, Richard and William Sprague, for these three companions of Endicott coming to Salem in 1628, soon set out afoot on a trip of exploration of the wilderness to the southwest. Arriving at a junction of two rivers, where they found an Indian fishing village known as Mishawum, with the permission of the tribe, they established what is usually assumed to be the original settlement in Middlesex. There seems to have been but nine left, of possibly a hundred, who came from Salem to locate here, when Winthrop arrived on the scene. Not only Charlestown, but all the Endicott settlements were in a dire state of need, and Winthrop sent the "Lion" back to England to stock up with supplies and make an immediate return. With a thousand additional people, the situation was critical. The folk at Charlestown became dissatisfied with the water which was taken from open streams. Not that there was anything the matter with it, but in the thickly populated parts of England it had been dangerous to use the running brooks. On the other side of the Charles lived a William Blaxton, whose home was Trimountain, as Beacon Hill was then called. He invited Winthrop and the other leaders of the colony to come there and build. The invitation was accepted by a few, and the place, which also was known by the Indian title, Shawmut, was settled, and thus was Boston started.

Preparations were made for the hard winter that the wise ones knew they must face. It was too late in the season to plant, but they could build and collect wood and such supplies as the woods and few Indians could furnish. And this occupied the most of the summer. Some time was lost of the precious summer days in trying to determine where the principal village should be builded. After the dropping of the "three League" location up the Charles, Cambridge was chosen. Winthrop, Dudley and others of the principal men agreed to build here. A canal was planned, and the colonists taxed to build it, the purpose being a quick mode of transportation across the marsh by the river to the higher lands. Fear of the Indians led to the erection of a palisade, the line of which is even yet well known, and a remnant or two of the willow-tree of which some of it was made, still exists. It was called Newtowne, and Dudley erected his house there within the hundred acres that was enclosed by the palisade. The bounds of the town as later laid out extended more than thirty-five miles back into the present county, and probably covered an area of a hundred square miles. The seat of the government was to be here, but Winthrop decided that the wrong spot

had been chosen, and removed the frame of the house he started across the river to what is now Washington Street in Boston.

The abandonment of Newtowne by Winthrop ended its chance to become the chief city of the Massachusetts Colony. Who knows but its loss was a real gain, when it is realized that the first college in the New World was founded there a few years later, and the name of the palisaded settlement changed to Cambridge in honor of the fact. The date of Boston's formal settlement as the prospective colonial capital is September 17, 1630, and was so named because Boston in Lincolnshire, a hundred miles north of London, had played an important part in the Massachusetts Company, supplying some of its strong men, such as Dudley, Bellingham, Leverett, Coddington and Johnson. The settlement didn't prove very vigorous in its early years being so unimportant as to be called in derision, "Lost Town."

**Pioneer Hardships**—The succeeding winter took its toll; more than two hundred died. In February conditions were so bad that a day of fasting was appointed, February 6. Mather says that Mrs. Winthrop, the Governor's wife, had put the last loaves of bread into her oven. Richard Clapp reported that it was not an unusual thing in those days to drink water and to eat hominy without butter or milk, and meat was about unknown. Edward Johnson, an eye-witness, reports that "the women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussel and clam banks, where they daily gathered their families food." Qouth one, "My husband hath traveled as far as Plymouth (which is near forty miles), and hath with great toil brought home a little corn with him, and before that is spent the Lord will surely provide!" Quoth another, "Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home, baking, and many of our neighbors have spent all, and we owe one loaf of the little we have." Then spake another, "My husband has ventured again among the Indians for corn and got none. Also our Governor has distributed his plentifully. A day or two more will put an end to this store, and all the rest." The fate of the colonization of New England probably was on the balances of God that February. The pioneers would not have starved but it is doubtful whether survivors would have remained. There was a later period when more returned to England than were coming to these shores.

On the day before the one set for solemn fasting and prayer for help, the "Lion" appeared off Nantasket, and the fasting turned into thanksgiving. Winthrop's forethought in sending the "Lion" back for supplies the summer previous, reaped its reward now. This one small vessel's cargo saved the day, and yet the total cost of all provisions it carried was only about two hundred pounds.

**Establishing Massachusetts Colony**—The Massachusetts Colony was

now firmly established. The next summer was one of farming and building. A visit was made by Governor Winthrop to Plymouth in 1632 that cemented the two colonies together in friendship. There were constant accessions to the colonies from abroad. In 1633 there came John Haynes, a later Governor of both Massachusetts and Connecticut; Thomas Leverett; John Cotton; Thomas Hooker, "the light of the western churches" .... a prodigy of learning and an eloquent orator; Samuel Stone, later pastor of Hartford. As was natural, churches multiplied with every planting of a settlement. Three weeks after Winthrop's arrival at Charlestown, a church was formed at Boston, another at Charlestown two weeks later, and a third at Watertown at the same time. About this same date there were already church organizations at Lynn, Roxbury, Dorchester and Newtowne. By the close of 1636 there were at least nine churches in the colony of which we have record.

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Meanwhile, Winthrop, who had been elected Governor of the colony when the Massachusetts Company had taken the control of their affairs into their own hands, and had made the election of its officers a matter of votes on the part of the freemen, was retired from office which he had so graced. In the election of 1634, Thomas Dudley was chosen Governor and Roger Ludlow, Deputy. During the year that they served, three thousand emigrants came from England. Some of the more noted of these were: Richard Mather, the minister of Dorchester; Anthony Thacher, a writer; Hugh Peters, later the counsellor of Oliver Cromwell; Thomas Shepherd, pastor at Cambridge, and Sir Henry Vane. Vane was only about twenty-five, and one of the most remarkable young men of his time. The son of a Secretary of State, his arrival seemed to the colonists "to herald the coming of the very heads of the Puritan movement." He really only came as a "sojourner," but was promptly elected to the governorship, in which capacity he served for a year, 1646-7. The move proved rather a failure. His youth did not fit him for ruling in a strange community, and the people soon turned against him. One of the acts by which he inflamed public opinion was his treatment of Anne Hutchinson. Mrs. Hutchinson had immigrated in 1634, and soon after her arrival joined the Boston church. Finding herself debarred from speaking in the religious meetings, she founded the first "Mother's Meeting" by gathering around her the ladies of the village and speaking and teaching. Her ideas were not those of some of the ministers and a theological war soon raged about her. She was persecuted as a heretic, and at church meeting was condemned. Vane was one of her adherents as was also Mr. Cotton. Anne, "excommunicated" and tormented by the colonists, left and lived at Narragansett, until, moving to New York, she was murdered by the Indians in 1642. Vane meanwhile resigned and returned to England.

Winthrop was now elected to the Governorship and with the exception of four years—Dudley being installed in 1640 and 1645, Mr. Bellingham in 1641, and John Endicott in 1644—continued in office until his death in 1649. Month after month saw the advent of new settlers. Hingham was settled in 1634; Concord, Newbury and Dedham, were incorporated in 1635. Between this date and 1643 the towns of Salisbury, Lynn, North Chelsea, Rowley, Sudbury, Braintree, Woburn, Gloucester, Haverhill, Wenham and Hull were incorporated. Springfield was made a town in 1636.

In 1643, it seemed wise in view of the increasing number of towns, and the attendant large increase in official and judicial business to divide the Massachusetts Colony into counties or "shires." On May 10 of that year it was enacted "that the whole of the plantation within this jurisdiction is divided into four shires."

Essex shire—Salem, Lynn, Enon, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester and Chochicawick.

Middlesex—Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, Linn Village.

Suffolk—Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket.

Norfolk—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Dover, Strawberry Bank.

Norfolk County as above formed was extinguished by the General Court on the 4th of February, 1679-80, after New Hampshire became a royal province, and its Massachusetts towns were annexed to Essex County. In Middlesex County the towns forming it were incorporated or founded as follows: Charlestown, June 24, 1629; Cambridge, September 8, 1633; Watertown, September 7, 1630; Sudbury, September 4, 1639; Concord, September 2, 1635; Woburn, May 18, 1642; Medford, September 28, 1630; Linn Village, which was incorporated as Reading after the county was formed, May 29, 1684. Of these, Charlestown was incorporated as a city February 22, 1847, and annexed to Boston May 14, 1873; and Cambridge was incorporated as a city March 17, 1846.

In Essex County, Salem was incorporated June 24, 1629, as a town, and as a city March 23, 1836; Lynn (formerly Saugus), November 20, 1637, as a town, and as a city April 10, 1850; Enon (now Wenham), was incorporated May 10, 1643; Ipswich, August 5, 1634; Rowley, September 4, 1639; Newbury, May 6, 1635; Gloucester, as a town May 22, 1639; as a city May 26, 1871; and Chochicawick (now Andover), May 6, 1646.

In Norfolk County, Salisbury was incorporated October 7, 1640; Haverhill as a town in 1645, and as a city March 10, 1869. Hampton, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth), were included within the limits of New Hampshire.

In Suffolk County, Boston was incorporated as a town September 7,

1630, as a city February 23, 1822; Roxbury, as a town September 28, 1630, as a city March 12, 1846, annexed to Boston June 1, 1867; Dorchester, September 7, 1630, annexed to Boston June 4, 1869; Dedham, September 8, 1636; Braintree, May 13, 1640; Weymouth, September 2, 1635; Hingham, September 2, 1635; and Nantasket (now Hull), May 29, 1644.

When the present Norfolk County was incorporated, March 26, 1793, all the towns above mentioned in Suffolk County, except Boston, were included in the new county. Hingham and Hull, being dissatisfied with their new connection, were subsequently, at the same session of the General Court, exempted from the act of incorporation, and were finally annexed to Plymouth County.

**Resumé of Conditions**—The erection of the shires may be said to mark the end of the strictly Puritan period, and a summary of the conditions in the colonies at this time may not be out of place. Less than a quarter century had passed, and the ten first years of that was spent in little more than marking time. The Pilgrims had been poor, and those sent over by the Massachusetts Company brought little with them. The first winters for all settlements had been severe and disheartening. But the springs found them ready to break the land and sow the seeds for future harvests. The soil, particularly around the Middlesex sector was fertile, the air good, the water pure. Fish was plentiful and proved one of the best of the later exports. By 1643, nearly fifteen thousand acres of land had been planted to grain, and another thousand was enclosed in the gardens. The number of neat cattle had risen to twelve thousand, and sheep to three thousand. The Puritan had meat and milk and hides, where once they had been completely lacking. Possibly twenty-five thousand people had settled in New England, of which Massachusetts had eighteen thousand. Fifty villages rested in the openings in the forests, and the spires of forty churches pointed the way to the heavens.

The villagers were growing rich. Not only were their possessions in land large but in the necessities and even luxuries of life. Surplus products were exchanged for furs and the pelts shipped to England. Fish from the sea and rivers was caught, dried and sent abroad. Moreover "new buildings, some even of brick, sprang up in every quarter of Boston; markets were erected; wharves stretched into the harbor; native and foreign vessels were sent to the West Indies and to the Madeira Islands, and returned laden with sugar, oranges, wine, cotton, tobacco and bullion; and these with the furs, and the products of the fisheries including morse teeth and oil, were sent to England to pay for manufactured goods." Wool and flax were grown in the colony, and attention

was being given to manufacturing. Many sections had good water-powers which were utilized to drive saw, grist and other mills. Glass works, and ship yards began business. At Lynn and Braintree iron foundries had been established. It was not until later that manufacturing was seriously considered.

Many of the early settlers were college men; as a class the Puritan was a reader who thought highly of education. It was required that "after the Lord hath increased them (the town) to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all the children.... and where any town shall increase to a hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct the youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." Boston had been settled but six years when the General Court voted to erect a "colledge." In 1637 this college "was ordered to be at Newtowne" and "Newtowne shall henceforth be called Cambridge." Before the year ended, John Harvard died, bequeathing one half of his estate to the school that took his name. In 1642 nine men were graduated from the college, the first commencement of Harvard, and the first and only one for many years in America aside from the regular ones at this famous school.

**The Colonies**—The fitting climax to this period in the settlement by the English of Massachusetts, was the forming of the confederacy of the colonies. The initial proceedings were started May 19, 1643, when commissioners from four of the colonies met at Boston and agreed on terms of confederation. These were signed by the appointees from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven; Plymouth signing later. The preamble to the articles of confederation reads as follows:

> We all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, *viz.*: to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the sea-coast and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation among ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the true tenor and meaning of the ensuing articles.

This explicit preamble is followed by twelve articles. The first fixes

the name, "The United Colonies of New England." The second is a declaration of a perpetual league, with its purposes. The third asserts the rights of jurisdiction of each colony within its own boundaries, and confines the confederacy to the four colonies forming it, until otherwise agreed. The fourth establishes the rule to be followed in the apportionment of colonial expenses in time of war. The fifth states the course to be pursued in case of any foreign invasion. The sixth gives to each colony the power to choose two commissioners, fully authorized to act in its behalf. The seventh provides for the election of a president of the board. The eighth provides for the establishing of "agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature," and for the preservation of justice in general. The ninth forbids each colony engaging in war, without the consent of the rest. The tenth provides for calling extraordinary meetings. The eleventh provides for cases arising from a breach of the articles; and the twelfth ratifies and confirms the whole.

This league had to meet many difficulties, but was in general satisfactory. It was practically an assumption on the part of the colonies of sovereignty, which far exceeded the expectations of the giver of the charter, and the founders of the colonies. The noble legislation was a fore-runner of a more significant act, when a Declaration of Independence was the first document of a Union of States.

# CHAPTER IV

## INTERCOURSE AND CONFLICT WITH THE INDIANS.

The great increase in the number of settlers in Massachusetts and elsewhere in New England, and their wide dissemination over the country brought them into intimate touch with the Indian, and into greater danger because of this. At first the Aborigine had been one of the greatest aids in the survival of the Pilgrims and Puritans. Later there was strife and warfare. Those who had been friends became enemies; the Indian became a menace. He was feared and fought. It cannot be said that the bloody legacy of the first half century after the arrival of Winthrop is one of which we can be proud. But it must not be forgotten that the pioneers of the country were state-builders, and never has there been a state builded in a strange land by a new race that did not erect that structure on the ruins of the race that held the land.

**Attempts to Christianize the Indians**—The English were not invited to either settle or civilize this country, but once here, self-preservation was the law that ruled both the English and the Indian, and in the conflict of ideas, the weaker was bound to go under. The Pilgrims were thrown on their own resources once they had left their ships. They had high ideals, but they had first to think of themselves. They found a race that seemed incapable of sincere friendship, unappreciative of kindness, lazy, treacherous, impossible to civilize or Christianize. Once the owners of a vast domain, they were so supremely incapable of appreciating the value of that domain, that they traded it away for a few bright gewgaws, so why should he, the white, refrain from getting the possession of all the land as cheaply as possible? Or why try to civilize a race that showed no aptitude for civilization; or Christainize a people that were so steeped in superstition as not to grasp the simplest of the tenets of the Christian faith? At the present time, we look upon the Indian in a different light, but we must not forget that those of an early day had their own point of view and lived according to their way of thinking. We do not have to go back of the present generation to find a like example of a race that felt itself called upon to impose their "kultur" upon others, to seize the control of others' land, even though in the act they destroyed the lives of many.

As one writer has said: "It is noticeable in the history of the occupa-

for the English in haytime and harvest. The code of conduct that was given to the Indians of Natick for their guidance to the civilization of the whites is worthy of repetition. It was as follows:

I.—If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings. II.—If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty shillings. III.—If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to a place of justice to be severely punished. IV.—Every young man, if not another's servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams. V.—If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings. VI.—If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay two shillings. VII.—All men that wear long locks shall pay five shillings. VIII.—If any shall kill their lice between their teeth, they shall pay five shillings.

The greatest work of Eliot was the creation of an Indian Bible. The Aborigine was without written language or literature. All the Evangelist had to work with was the common guttural speech of the savage, many of the words of which required forty or more letters for their transcription. Only a philologist can understand the tremendous task Eliot set himself in trying to put the Word of God within the reach of the Indian. In the end he not only had done this but had added a grammar, primer, catechisms and other religious books. Whether he received any aid in the labor of translation is not known, but the publishing of his translations was paid for by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (September, 1661). As one writer proudly boasts "this was the first Bible in the Indian to be published in the world since its creation." Eliot lived to see the second edition of his work, 1685; the New Testament being published at Cambridge in 1680; the Old Testament at the same place in 1685. This Indian Bible is a rare treasure, although none there be that can read it now. Eliot died at Roxbury, May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six. A wonderful man, and justly famous. "If we judge the value of his enterprise," says Barry, "by the measure of its success, the conversion of the Indians must be regarded as a failure.... and nearly all that remains to remind us of the genius and exertions of Eliot are the few scattered books which have descended to us from the past, as unintelligible as the inscriptions on the obelisk of Luxor." The number of "Praying Indians" at the height of the experiment, 1675, was about 3500, the most of which were in Middlesex, a tenth of them at Natick, and 13,000 in the whole of New England. Two years later, Gookin estimates them at half this number, and the fourteen towns reduced to seven, "Nonantum (Newton), Pakemit, Cowate (Watertown), Natick, Medfield, Concord, Namekeak near Chelmsford." Four more years and Eliot claimed only four towns, and probably only about three hundred natives.

Thus ended the splendid experiment in the Christianizing and civilizing of a savage people; thereafter it was the sword rather than the Bible that was used. The leopard either could not or would not change his spots; they were wiped away in blood. The first cleansing was that given in the country about Hartford, Connecticut, June, 1634. When it was over the Pequod tribe had been eliminated, the first of the red race who paid the penalty for being natives of the region that was desired by the English.

**The Pequod War**—The story of the Pequod War, so called, is a simple one. Of the tribes dwelling in New England, the Pequods were the most warlike, and the most fretful under the restraining hand of the whites. They were located between the Pawcatuck River on the western boundary of Rhode Island and the Thames River in Connecticut, They ranged principally along Long Island Sound, and early developed a habit of attacking fisherman and small vessels. In 1634, Captains Stone and Norton and a crew of eight men were captured and destroyed, the vessel sunk. Two years later, John Oldham was mutilated and killed, and his companions kidnapped. That same year Governor Vane sent Endicott and Underwood to teach them to leave the whites alone or suffer punishment. Forty Pequods were wounded, thirteen killed, and a large quantity of corn taken from them. The only result of the attack was to inflame the Indians.

Settlers had been gradually seeping into the Connecticut River valley, the greatest number of them being thirty miles away from the headquarters of the Pequods. Apparently they were safe from invasion by this tribe at least. In addition, the Narragansetts, with Uncas their Sachem, were friendly with the settlements. Because of this seeming safety, and possibly influenced by jealousy, these river settlements were chosen for the attacks made by the Pequods succeeding the foray of Endicott against them. In the winter of 1637, a seventh of the colonists of Connecticut were killed by the Pequods. The very colonization of New England hung in the balance, for if the other tribes had been induced to throw their forces in with the Pequods, it seems likely that the settlers of the whole region would have been wiped out.

The Massachusetts Bay Company rose to the occasion, levied six hundred pounds for war, and recruited one hundred and sixty men. Other sections did as well proportionately. Under the leadership of Mason and Underhill, forces set sail in three vessels for the Pequod country. Knowing that the tribe expected to be attacked from the west, the leaders determined to march upon them from the opposite direction. Crossing Rhode Island for twenty miles they came on a fort of the Narragansetts. Supposedly friendly, Mason wisely set troops about it

to prevent news of his arrival from leaking through to the Pequods. Fifteen miles farther, he came to the main Pequod fort. This was a palisade structure surrounding about two acres, the sides of which were logs set firmly in the earth with the tops about twelve feet from the ground. Through the interstices, those inside could shoot at the enemy outside. At the ends were two small openings on opposite sides of the fort. Probably seventy thatch-roofed houses were clustered within the palisade. Waiting until midnight, Mason entered one of the openings with sixteen men, while Underwood did likewise on the other side. Torches were lit and the thatch fired in every direction. Underwood had laid a powder-train which later was exploded, blowing the village in a hundred pieces. Meanwhile the escaping Indians were massacred, those that escaped the English being slain by the Indian allies in the rear. Within an hour the whole affair was over, and darkness had fallen again on what was once a principal Indian town. Mason's whole force consisted of seventy-seven English, sixty Mohegans, and four hundred Narragansetts and Niantics, but the Indian allies had stayed in the rear refusing to assist in the attack, although they were active enough once the village had been burned and the most of the inhabitants put to death by the English. From a quarter to a half of the whites were wounded, and two killed. Estimates of the Pequod dead differ, many saying that "the dead bodies of seven hundred Pequods were counted," but a half of this number is probably nearer to the truth.

Those remaining of the tribe fled westward pursued by Mason. Brought to bay in a swamp, there was another massacre; two hundred prisoners being taken besides a large amount of booty. The prisoners were divided between Massachusetts and Connecticut and were made the slaves of the farmers and wealthy citizens. Sassacus, the Pequod chief, and a few of his followers took refuge among the Mohawks, only to be treacherously slain and his scalp sent to the pale-face victors. This in the story of the Pequods who because they dared to cross the English were wiped off the earth. It was a rough lesson and roughly taught, but one remembered by the Indian tribes for four decades.

**Preparations for a New War**—Forty years passed and the sons of the participants in the Pequod War began to make ready for a conflict that was inevitable. It was impossible for two races to occupy the same land, and do so in friendship. Eliot and a few others were carrying on an experiment designed to enable the Indian and the white to live amicably one with the other. But the vast majority of both nationalities were uninterested in this; in fact their interests seem to have been in gaining each the advantage over the other, and in this the English were, by far, the more successful. After the severe lesson taught the Pequods,

the Indians were quiet but sullen and alert. The English, meanwhile, had become careless and grasping. No danger from the Indians was apprehended. Yet the time was approaching when there was the possibility of the white race being driven from New England, and the King Philip's War that came in 1675, did set back, a good half century, the colonization of Massachusetts.

Massasoit had been, from the very first settlement at Plymouth, a friend of the whites. At the invitation of Governor Bradford, he had signed certain papers which acknowledged him as an ally of King James. Probably he had no idea of what all the fine things said on that paper meant, but he did know that the pale-faces had promised to treat him as a gentleman and brother, and to protect his rights and position. And they did, after a fashion, but not a very good one. Massasoit found the presents given him soon wasted away, and the lands which he lent the use of, somehow grew fences, inside of which he was unwelcome. He did not understand such friendship, but having made a bargain, he held to it.

Upon his death and that of his son Alexander, Philip, a second son, became Sachem of the Wampanoags. Here was a very different character. Today, he might be considered a hero and patriot, that is if his activities were carried on in another land and not against Americans. He was wise enough to realize that he and his race were in danger of extinction, and quietly prepared to meet this danger. Upon his accession to the rulership of his tribe, he began to bring them together in the southeastern part of Massachusetts, near his home, at Mount Hope, near the site of the present City of Fall River. Preparations were made for war. This new generation had become familiar with fire-arms, and more efficient modes of fortification. The arms were supplied, for the most part, by the very settlers against whom they were later used. During the war that followed, the Dutch of New York and French of Canada kept the Indian supplied.

In 1662, Philip had sworn friendship with the colony at Plymouth. Eight years later the rumor went abroad that he was preparing for war, and even then was ready. The Governor of Plymouth inquired into his intentions. Philip said he feared the neighboring Narragansetts, ridiculing the notion that he had any evil intentions against his friends the pale-faces. He even offered to surrender his arms, and did turn over seventy guns as a pledge of his good fellowship.

The next four years he spent in maturing his schemes to oust the English. He persuaded the Indians of various tribes to ally themselves with him, secured arms, and arranged a plan by which, all striking together at different places in the spring of 1676 they could exterminate the hated whites. He might have succeeded had he been able to control

himself as well as he could persuade others. One odd incident upset all his well laid plans, and brought about a premature start of hostilities, that more than anything else led to failure.

We have heard of Eliot's experiment at Natick. Perhaps mention should have been made of the Indian college started at Cambridge in 1661. A graduate of this college was one John Sassamon, a Massachusetts Indian. This native became a teacher at Natick but left in disgrace and became the secretary of Philip. Later, Eliot won him again to the fold at Natick. Sassamon still remained on a friendly basis with Philip and visited him often. In 1674, he became convinced that the chief was plotting against the English and disclosed to them such facts as he knew. Philip learned of his treachery, and Sassamon's body was found underneath the ice of the Assowomset Pond. One Indian had been seen to murder Sassamon, but three were executed for the murder.

**King Philip's War**—This was the signal for war. Philip in his anger could not wait for the appointed time, and, with a band of Indians fell on the town of Swanzey and burned several of the houses, June 20, 1675. Four days later, he again attacked the town, setting fire to the houses, nine falling victims to the flames. On the 28th, a force from Plymouth under Major James Cudworth arrived at Swanzey, where he was soon joined by "train bands." This small army marched against Philip's stronghold at Mount Hope, only to find it deserted. They turned toward home rejoicing that so easily had they driven from the country the cowardly Philip. The Massachusetts troops remained at Swanzey, and during the interim compelled the Narragansetts to ally themselves with the English. In July Philip and his band were located in a swamp at Pocasset, where they were attacked on the 19th, but with such bad management as to prove a failure. The English retreated; had they persisted one hour longer, Philip would have been compelled to surrender and the war would have been ended. Philip again escaped and fear ran through the blood of the colonists everywhere along the border—and the border then was any place thirty miles westerly from Boston. There now followed a series of battles that probably would be considered only skirmishes now, but were of vast importance then. On the first of August was the fight at Seekonk Plain, where the people of Rehoboth, led by their minister, fought well, driving Philip off to the land of the Nipmucks. Near Brookfield a clash had already caused the loss of a number of the colonists, eight falling at the first fire of the savages.

Elsewhere the Indians were rising, particularly along the Connecticut River; and thither went Philip. In September, Hadley was surprised

FIRST PARISH UNITARIAN CHURCH, LEXINGTON

OLD BELFRY, LEXINGTON

while the folk were at church, and fires started in several places, but the Indians were driven off with little loss. On this same day Deerfield was attacked and nearly destroyed; three days later Northfield was destroyed; and on the 18th, Deerfield was under an even more disastrous fire of the natives. The Springfield Indians now cast in their lot with Philip, and the combined forces fell upon the place destroying sixty houses, but where driven off by the troops of Major Treat. Two weeks later, a pitched battle took place at Hadley in which the Indians met defeat, and withdrew from the war for the winter.

Thus a summer was passed in which the success rested with the Indians. The English, as usual, were slow to be aroused, but once alive to the danger, they rose in force, and combined in concerted efforts. In September, representatives from three colonies met at Boston, and ordered 1,000 troops raised at once, of which Massachusetts did raise more than a half. A commander-in-chief was appointed to have control over all the forces of the united colonies. Here was a colonial union a century before the more noted one; and here rose the heroes of '75 who were to save the country that the heroes of Lexington and Concord were to lead the way in setting free.

The Narragansetts, who had promised to help in the war against Philip, had not only failed to do so, but were suspected of making ready to join with that leader in the spring. They were accused of supplying Philip with fire-arms, and of allowing their young men to fight with the Sachem's forces; these in addition to other minor charges. Accordingly, it was determined that a December campaign into the country of the Narragansetts was advisable, and with the added troops of Treat, the army, numbering about a thousand English and one hundred and fifty Mohegans crossed into Rhode Island. They covered the fourteen miles to the Narragansetts' principal fort through the cold and snow of a December day, and found the enemy well fortified on an island completely surrounded by swamp. A palisade protected the center, access to the island being over a single tree bridge, and this bridge was covered by a block-house. For several hours a battle raged, until at last the Indians were flanked. Taking advantage of the scheme that had worked so well in the Pequod War, fire was strewn among the wigwams, and as the flames rose above their homes, discipline among the Indians failed, and a wild melee resulted. No quarter was asked or given. At night the remnant of the Narragansetts retreated deeper into the swamp. So complete was the destruction by the fire, that the victors could not occupy the field of victory, but had to hasten with their wounded and dead to Pettyquamscott. Between seventy and eighty had been killed, and the wounded numbered more than a hundred and fifty. In other words, nearly a quarter of those engaged were among the casualties.

The Indians are supposed to have numbered three thousand five hundred; of these seven hundred were slain and three hundred mortally wounded. This battle practically broke the strength of the Narragansetts, but Canonchet, their sachem, refused to give up. Said he: "We will fight to the last man rather than be slaves of the English." He kept his word, and from this time on the war was carried on with the most frightful cruelty.

The Indians in their swamps and the English in their camp, nursed their wounded through the winter. Half of the white force were unfit for duty; the victory had been too costly. Disheartenment ruled, while starvation stared them in the face. With the beginning of the new year Philip began his depredations, going now into the land of the Nipmucks of Middlesex County. Re-inforced by three hundred men the English followed the trail of the Chief as far as Marlborough, only to be compelled to retreat to Boston for provisions. Encouraged by their absence, the Narragansetts, Nipmucks, Quaboag and River Indians joined hands, and attacked Lancaster, destroying it. Medfield was burned on February 21, losing half the houses and twenty persons. Two days later Weymouth suffered almost as badly, and on March 2, Groton was almost wiped out. Plymouth, too, was assaulted. Captain Pierce of Scituate, with a force of seventy men went to its defense. They were ambushed and none escaped. Seekonk and Providence were burned shortly after.

Fresh forces were raised by the colonists, and every effort made to secure equipment for them, but the government was almost at the end of their resources. Then occurred the memorable attack on Sudbury on the 21st of April, "one of the most memorable fights in the annals of the Massachusetts colony." Because it was an important engagement, and typical of some of the fighting of that time, a more extended account of it is given.

It must be realized that one of the principal means of defense used by the towns was the "garrison house," large residences chosen for their strategical position or ease of defense. To these the people hastened in time of attack and about or in them the men made as strong a defense as was possible. Usually, a few soldiers were assigned to each house. There were five of these houses around Sudbury. Marlborough had been almost destroyed in the latter part of March, so the last town on the frontier was now Sudbury. In April word was brought that King Philip was on his way with "thousands in his band." Various estimates of the actual number have been given by the historians of that day, and 1,500 is usually taken as approximately correct. On the night of the twentieth, the savages took up a position surrounding the town, capturing the most of the western part except the garrison houses. They split up their forces long enough to burn all the scattering places, even

going as far as Weston. With the dawn attacks were begun on the garrison houses, the savages endeavoring to get close enough to set fire to the roof; the inmates making sallies from time to time, to drive the foe back. So effective was the defense that not one of the houses was captured. Meanwhile small bodies of men were hastening from Concord, Watertown and other places to reinforce the defenders. A detachment from Concord was surrounded by the Indians and slain to the man. Hugh Mason and his Watertown troops drove the enemy from the west side of the river. Another company under Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, seventy in number, were on the way to Marlborough, but finding his services not needed there hastened to Sudbury. He encountered none of the enemy until he fell into an ambush laid by the main band of Philip, at what is now South Sudbury. A scathing fire was poured into his troop, directed by Philip himself. Probably from five hundred to a thousand Indians were engaged, against whom there were not more than fifty whites. Not only were the savages held at bay, but Wadsworth managed to manoeuver his men into a better position near Green Hill. To the summit of this hill he fought his way, but it was almost night before it was accomplished. Fearing that Wadsworth might form a junction with one of the garrisons, Philip continued the fight, but using strategy rather than force to accomplish his ends. He had the forest to the windward of Wadsworth fired. The flames drove him from the peak, and he began a disastrous retreat. Soon they were racing for Hop Brook Mill, losing men at every stride. It was only a quarter of a mile from the Green Hill position, but only a few reached the mill, where, because the Indians thought it garrisoned, they were free from attack and were rescued the next morning.

The morning of April 22 was a sad one for the folk of Sudbury. Philip had left the field of his costly victory. Scattered here and there were the bodies of the dead, stripped, scalped and mutilated. Twenty-nine were buried in one grave on the westerly side of Green Hill. A rough heap of stones were cast together to mark the spot in the fire-blackened forest, a mound which was left to soften and grow grey with the moss of years.

For a century and three quarters, the only marking of the grave of these brave men was the stone heap a few feet high, and possibly a dozen feet long at the head of which was a plain slate slab. This slab had been placed there by President Wadsworth of Harvard College in 1730, a son of the Captain. The wild woods grass grew over the heap, many of the stones fell from the heap and were lost among the briars, the place where lay the dead of one of the most heroic incidents of King Philip's War was all but forgotten. It was not until 1851 that the town planned to give the spot a more suitable marker. With the approval

and aid of the Legislature a monument was erected, a simple shaft, but adequate. It so happened that it was placed some fifty feet north of the original grave, but the remains of the soldiers were removed to the new resting place.

**Results of the War**—Although Philip had won the victory at Sudbury, and at no great loss of men, he was very badly situated, since sickness and starvation were beginning to ravage his ranks. Allied tribes began to lose faith in the success of his movement and began to desert. Gradually his forces disintegrated, and the pendulum of the war began to swing to the side of the colonists. The Indians retreated to the Upper Falls of the Connecticut, where at night they were attacked by men from Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton under the command of Captains Turner and Holyoke. A notable victory resulted, but on the return march they were in turn attacked by Philip with a loss of nearly a third. This was the last real fight of the war. The harried Indians were dying of starvation and disease. Philip, with a few savages fled to Mount Hope, his home. His wife and child were captured. "My heart breaks" he murmured as he heard of this. Church was sent to drive him from his hiding place. Philip escaping was shot through the heart. The insolent and implacable enemy of the colonies had fallen, the event causing great joy among the settlers. It was naturally forgotten that he had been a mighty warrior, a statesman, a prince, who because he saw the inevitable extinction of his race had made his great effort to save. His head was chopped off, body quartered, and the raw flesh scattered in a swamp.

The war was over; thirteen towns had been destroyed, six hundred of the English had been slain; the total cost had been more than a half million dollars. "No Indian war which has occurred within the limits of the United States was ever attended with such disastrous results as this of King Philip. The advance of New England was retarded by fifty years; but its evil effects were, in the process of time, entirely obliterated."

The Indians never recovered from the blow dealt them. They had been rulers of a domain; in a few years they had no place to lay their heads. Probably they were not fitted to survive in the face of white competition; certainly they did not survive. The war of King Philip was but another chapter in the story of a vanishing race. As far as the county of Middlesex is concerned, the closing chapter is the tale of a few dozen savages, paupers, fed by the bounty of an Englishman who had grown rich on the lands of their fathers. They died or drifted into Canada, and the last possession of the Indian was given to their keeper in payment for the bread they had eaten.

However much the Colonies suffered from their contact with the Indian, there was one very valuable indirect result of their situation. There was always the menace of the savages; because of it there was but little of the lone settlement of Massachusetts. The individual did not dare to go out in the wilderness and set up his home; he had to stay near others. This resulted in the group settlement of any locality. Families would get together, send out one in whose judgment they had faith to pick out a likely place, and together they would start a "town." Most often this town consisted of farms, a central village in which all held lots, and where they dwelt; and "commons," the rights in which were held by the community. These "towns" were to quite an extent self-governing and almost independent. Always there was built a meeting-house which served for religious and town meetings; a school-house making education not quite the problem it is in isolated settlements; and if the town was wealthy they secured an educated minister who was not only the preacher and teacher, but often the general in time of battle, and governor and judge in State and municipal affairs. A block or garrison house and a training green were usual accompaniments of the town. This "town" system was one of the peculiar characteristics of New England, one that not only encouraged individual development, but prepared the people for the independence for which they fought later, and in which movement they were leaders.

# CHAPTER V

## TRANSITION FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE.

The settlement of Massachusetts had been made by men who were independents in thought and aims. They came to be free from interference in their religion, primarily, but the desire to be independent in control of their destinies was, in no small measure, the reason for their leaving the comfort and safety of England to set up their homes on a chill and rugged shore, whose natives proved unfriendly. A government was erected that was suitable to their needs, but one that could hardly be pleasing to their English ruler. Fortunately, Charles the First was so busy attending to his affairs in Britain, that he paid little attention to his subjects across the ocean. In the charter given the Massachusetts Bay Company, small heed had been given to some of its provisions, and even less to an oversight of its management later. Unhampered from abroad, the Colony took more and more the management of its own affairs, introduced an increasing number of republican ideas, and oftimes forgot that they had any real connection with the English government.

**Discontent Among the Colonists**—Such a condition could hardly continue long; sooner or later, the King was to find the growing separation of his colony displeasing, their independence distasteful. Possibly the awakening in England might have been longer delayed, had not the Colony showed its hand too plainly. The freedom sought in religion was not allowed to others. Samuel Maverick, one of the earliest of the settlers in Massachusetts, since Winthrop found him already on Noddle's Island in 1630, was an adherent of the English Established Church. His notions did not fit in with the Puritan ideas, and disputes arose. In the end he was compelled to leave the colony and return to England, where later he became a thorn in the flesh of those who were interested in the settlements in New England. During the reign of Charles II he rose to be an advisor in Colonial affairs, and was no friend of Massachusetts. There were others as well who had suffered from the interference in their affairs, such as Dr. John Clarke, who had been banished from the Colony, and Quakers, who had suffered the same treatment. With the restoration of the second Charles, it was natural that the Puritans in England should be called to account, and it was not likely that those in this country would be overlooked. And they were not; the king resolved upon "reassuming the government of Massachusetts."

There are at least two sides to every question, as there was to the question of the right of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to govern itself without interference by the Crown. According to the English idea the government was a living body with which all parts were indissolubly joined. Emigration did not break this connection, particularly when the emigrants settled on what was claimed by the Dominion as their lands. The king had consented to the emigration, and to this country, but on the implied condition that they recognize that these lands were the Crown's, and their allegiance was to be to the king. The Crown lawyers drew up a list of things that the Colonies had no right to do, and which should be condemned and changed to conform with the English type of government. They had confined the right of franchise to a small number instead of in conformity with the rules of the mother country. They had refused to allow the free use of the English Book of Common Prayer by those desiring to do so. The oath of allegiance was no longer required by their people. Laws had been made not in accord with English law, and in some cases contrary to it. Appeal from these laws to England was refused. Laws were made, and writs issued in the name of the colonies or their officials, instead of in the name of the King of England. Money had been coined without permission. What was probably one of the principal causes behind the movement to regain control over the colonies was the rising jealousy of the English merchants of the prosperity of the Massachusetts marine, and the great accusation against the Colonies was that they paid no attention to the navigation laws. Many other accusations were brought up, but these are sufficient to show that there is something to be said on the English side of the question.

Massachusetts, from the very beginning had been a bad child, defiant as none of the other children of Britain were defiant, independent almost to perverseness, lusty and bold. But there were excuses to be made for her, and which she had the courage to make. Emigration had been of free will, and as such they had a right to liberty; that they had the right to have within the colony a free government of like privileges and jurisdictions as the State from which they had emigrated; "that they were entitled to the like power of reasoning and will in a similar legislature, and to a like judicature and executive powers within the bounds of their corporation, as the government of the mother country had within its own realms; in short, that the colony, as a politically free being, had a right to all those internal powers which were essential to its being as a free agent. The power of the Parliament to tax them without consent, since they were unrepresented in that body, was generally denied, and the right to trial by jury in all cases was inflexibly demanded."

Had the English ideas of jurisprudence been strictly applied to the

colonies, it would not only have been fatal to their growth, but would have reduced them to mere crippled vassals. They were to be humbled, but the character of the people was such as to make their spirit unbreakable, and their love of liberty not to be crushed out. The original settlers of Massachusetts were prominent men of their day.

> The principal men of the clergy and laity, possessed disciplined minds and talents which would have distinguished them in any sphere of action. Trained to take part in political discussions, and with a sagacity which intuitively penetrated the disguises of despotism, they wrought for posterity; and the cause in which they were engaged was emphatically the cause of freedom and humanity. Not only is America indebted to them for the blessings of civil liberty, but the world is indebted to them for initiating the work of popular government and universal improvement; the world is indebted to them for scattering abroad the seeds of imperishable political truths, which have been wafted on the wings of every breeze to the nations of Europe, to ripen in due time to a harvest of blessings. (Barry).

**"Pine Tree Shilling"**—Attempts were made by the colonies to placate the mother country, but without much success. Gorges and Mason offered, as they had before, to sell their claims and charter to the king, but the monarch was too poor to purchase. In 1662, John Norton and Simon Bradstreet were sent to court with an address expressing loyalty to the Crown, also with letters to prominent officials seeking their aid to being left alone to manage their affairs. Coins were issued in compliment to the king bearing the similitude of the tree under which Charles II hid after the Battle of Worcester. This is the so-called "Pine Tree Shilling." Norton and Bradstreet were unsuccessful. They bore a letter of complaints against the Colony and a list of changes they were to make. Slight attention was paid to it. Two years later, agents of the Crown came to see how well the colonies had heeded his orders. They were spendidly entertained, but had to return without accomplishing anything along the line for which they had been sent. Again the colonies had come out ahead, but it was only the necessity of attendance upon home affairs that gave them a ten-year respite from interference.

**The Charter Revoked**—In 1676, when the settlements had received the greatest set-back from King Philip's War, another agent of the king arrived at Boston in the person of Edward Randolph. Now began a long drawn out battle which ten years later brought about the downfall of the charter, and with it the Colony, and the erection of the Province. Into the details of the conflict of opinions and demands it is not needful to go. Randolph, both in this country and abroad pursued his aims as agent of the king, reaching the state where an action *pro warranto* was brought against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. The object of the action was to inquire by warrant whether the Company had done any of the things of which they were accused, and if so,

to show cause why the charter should not be vacated. There was no use in fighting further, for if the king wished to take away the charter, any defense the Company might make would not prevent. Many illegal things had been done, and the Company did not even try to defend itself. On October 23, 1684, the charter was declared vacated and the Puritan Commonwealth which had existed for four years more than a century as an independent political body, came to an end. There *was* no Massachusetts Bay Company.

For a time there was no legal government in New England. Charles II died; James II came to the throne, February, 1685, with a promise to preserve the laws of the land inviolate. England rejoiced, not knowing what new forms of tyranny they were later to witness and bear. To the colonists there was nothing pleasing in the outlook, for they knew they were to be humbled. Not until May, 1686, was any attention given by the king to colonial affairs. On that date Joseph Dudley's commission as president of the colony was read before the General Court of Massachusetts, which immediately adjourned. Randolph was still on the ground serving writs of *pro warranto* against Connecticut and Rhode Island.

**Establishing a New Provincial Government—** Dudley and Randolph, although both on their King's business had no use for each other, and were constantly quarreling. While the colonists looked on in amused contempt, Sir Edmund Andros arrived, accompanied by forces, to impose the King's will. On the day of his coming, December 20, 1686, he set in action the movement for the new provincial government. As Governor-general he instituted a series of measures that thoroughly upset the people. Preferments were lavished on strangers; an arbitrary government established. A tax of twenty pence was levied on each poll, and also one penny on every pound upon all the colonies towards the defraying the expenses of the government. Refusal to comply with these demands brought countless fines and imprisonments. Furthermore the power of the press was bridled; a restraint placed on marriages; every encouragement given the establishment of Episcopal churches, and a tax levied for the support of the same. Excise laws were passed and enforced; no one was allowed to leave the country without permission, and schools of learning were suffered to go to decay. Oppression threatened the country, the oppressors expressing the opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, "It is not for his majesty's interest that you should thrive. Before the close of 1688, the whole seaboard from Maryland to St. Croix, was united into one despotism, of which Boston was the capital." Possibly the act which most enraged the Massachusetts folk, was one proclaimed that because of the loss of the

Company's charter, all lands had reverted to the king, and whomsoever wished to retain possession of their places must pay a quitrent to the Crown. The common lands, which were usually near the center of the town and therefore valuable, were likewise claimed. All titles held prior to Andros' time were automatically thrown into the discard. Representative government was practically wiped out, the only legislative body being the "Governor's Council" which did little more than approve the Governor's decrees. Taxation without representation was another of the acts which fired the anger of the colonists.

The people fought back as well as they could. In 1688, Increase Mather was sent to England to present the grievances of the Province but secured nothing but vague promises from the King that were promptly forgotten. The revolution that unseated James II, put the young Prince of Orange on the throne and led to the overthrow of Andros. On April 4, 1689, the news reached Boston, and the fire that had been smouldering burst into flame. On the 18th, the commander of the "Rose" frigate was made a prisoner. People gathered in the street; the militia rallied to the town house; before noon the leaders in the oppression were in jail. Andros fled to Fort Hill, and a squad was sent there to demand his surrender. Andros refused, and tried to escape that afternoon, but failing was put in jail. The insurrection spread to most of the colonies in this country from Boston to the Chesapeake. The laws of the charter were declared in force. Increase Mather again sought aid from William, another King. All he could succeed in getting was a promise that Andros should no longer be governor, and he and his Queen were "to be proclaimed by the former magistrates." Andros was sent back to England but escaped punishment. In 1692 the Province of Massachusetts Bay was erected to include Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine. The King was to appoint the Governor-Deputy, Governor, and Secretary; the people to elect twenty-eight councillors. Each town was allowed two deputies to represent them in the General Court; rights of citizenship were to be respected; liberty of conscience granted to all but Papists. The erection of the Province was "the second act of the great drama, whose third brought freedom to a wide-spread republic." One of the first legislative acts of the new Province was one stating that "no tax.... should be levied... but by the consent of the governor, council and representatives of the people." It was, of course, rejected by the King. Other acts were likewise rejected, but one relating to Sunday observance, the support of a religious ministry, and the care for education, was approved and did much to develop the best in the Province.

On May 14, 1692, Governor William Phipps arrived, a man "better fitted to manage the crew of a man-of-war than to sit at the helm of

state." It was the illegally appointed court of his that sat in the period of the Salem witchcraft delusion.

He was followed by William Stoughton, 1694, whose administration was of short duration, the Earl of Bellomont being appointed Governor in 1695 although he did not begin service until two years later. Bellomont died, much regretted in 1701, after which Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, was commissioned. Dudley proved unsatisfactory but ruled until 1720.

French Invasion—More important to the destinies of the Colony than a succession of Governors who unsuccessfully tried to control an independent people as vassals to a King, were the French and Indian wars of this time. These caused severe trials and losses, and slowed down the heretofore rapid expansion of the population, but, on the other hand, were the best preparation of this independent people to unite and fight for the freedom which they were soon to gain. The border wars continued over a period of more than a century. The victories were won by the colonists almost unaided. The greatest prize of the years was won by the united forces of several States, and taught the settlers a lesson in the ease and strength of union, at least for military purposes. So deeply did this lesson penetrate, that, when in 1776 it was necessary for the colonies to join hands against a common foe, it was done with the greatest facility.

The French and Indian wars were the results of national rivalry rather than of Colonies, and of religious rather than personal enmity. France and England ran neck and neck in the discoveries and settlement of the New World. In the same year that the Plymouth Colony and Protestantism were planted in Massachusetts, the foundations of Quebec and Catholicism were laid. France wanted to control the New World as did England; she planted colonies on the St. Lawrence and on the Mississippi rivers, and started to build a chain of forts along the rivers connected by the Great Lakes forming a circle around the English and other settlers that would effectually shut them off from any further westerly expansion. England, a victor on the seas at home, wanted to control the sea and its fisheries, as well as the fur trade of the land. The actual settlers, both French and English, wanted, mostly, simply to be left alone to make their living and enjoy life. Both were religious, but both were willing to leave the other to its mode of worship. But the English were outnumbering the French in America, ten to one, and the desire of the Jesuits was to check and destroy the increasing heretics to the south. The natural hatred of the Indian to the white occupant of the land, made it easy to persuade him to give aid to any movement leading to the destruction of the pale-face. The Jesuit was very shrewd

and zealous in keeping alive this enmity and using it for his ends. This may seem rather a severe indictment of the Jesuit, but it is at least a coincidence, that when Rasle, known because of his preëminence as "The Jesuit," was slain, conflict with the Indians of the border ceased.

With so many bits of kindling thrown together, it is easy to understand why such small sparks caused conflagrations for a half century. The French maintained a bounty on scalps, so that it was more profitable and more interesting to the savage to go scalp-hunting than to trap fur. He knew what he would get for a scalp, even those of a woman and child he had struck down with no danger to himself, while the price of a pelt was constantly changing. Accordingly a few of them would slip in on an unwarned settlement, wipe it out and slip back again to their wigwams. What was the border then is now an hour's ride from Boston. Andover, Haverhill, Lancaster, and other nearby towns suffered horribly, because too far removed from populous centers. From Schenectady in New York to Kennebec in Maine ran the danger line, and along this border were most of the Indian massacres staged.

The Massachusetts folk had no use for scalps and paid no bounties. They were having enough internal troubles with their King and governors to have neither the time nor desire to bother with the settlements in Canada. But they were wise enough to realize that they had to scotch the enemy at headquarters if they were to have peace on the border line. Hence it was that the principal operations of the Colonies during the long series of wars were directed against the "seats of the mighty" in the main French strongholds.

As long as James II was controlled and paid by the King of France even the religious leaders along the St. Lawrence could hardly send their Indian dogs to tear at the throats of the "heretics" of New England. But with the accession of William of Orange the excuse for war was provided. One of the first duties of Phipps, newly appointed governor of the Massachusetts Bay Province, was to lead forces against Port Royal which was captured with ease. At the same time the Indians incited by the French began their frightful depredations in New England. War was on, and later in the summer, August 9, 1690, a fleet of thirty vessels set sail for Quebec. Count Frontenac, Governor of Canada, hearing of the intended attack hastened to the Castle of St. Louis, a most formidable natural fortress, and concentrated his efforts on making it impregnable. Forces from New York and Connecticut were supposed to attack the place from land, but failed. Phipps, arriving at Quebec, unloaded some thirteen hundred men, four companies of which started for the town. An unexpected attack threw them in confusion, and while a rally straightened this out, it would seem that confusion played quite a part in the succeeding efforts. Four vessels ran past the fort and there

was much powder expended. A storm hit the ships and did more damage than all the guns. By noon it was seen that nothing could be accomplished, and the vessels limped out of gun-range and started for home. A land attack on the next day was repulsed with great loss to the English. On the way back nine ships were lost on the shoals of the St. Lawrence, the human loss was about two hundred, many from smallpox. Perhaps the greatest loss was in prestige and the Rear-Admiral's flag which had fallen into the water and was for years held as a trophy in the church that was dedicated in Quebec to commemorate the victory, the *Notre Dame des Victoires*. The Indians spurred on by the victory and the bounties of the French, became more bold in their attacks, and Groton, Billerica, Newbury, Andover, Haverhill, and places even nearer Boston were the scenes of murder and midnight incendiarism. Thus ended the first period of the French and Indian wars; a very severe set-back for the English and the Colony.

Undismayed, although discouraged, a second expedition was projected for the reduction of Canada. Word was received in Boston that it had "pleased the king, out of his goodness, and disposition for the welfare of all his subjects, to send a considerable strength of ships and men into the West Indies, and to direct the Admiral, Sir Francis Wheeler, to sail to New England from the Caribbee Islands, so as to be there by the last of May, or the middle of June by the farthest, with a sufficient strength to overcome the enemy, if joined and seconded by the forces of New England." The wonder fleet arrived in June, 1693, with two-thirds of the soldiers and sailors buried in the sea or on the islands. The survivors were so infected with disease that they started a plague in Boston whose malignity exceeded any visitation by disease ever experienced. The expedition against Canada was abandoned forthwith.

**The Second Attempt**—It was twenty-one years after the first failure before another attempt was made by the Colony to seize the strongholds of the French. Meanwhile the enemy had not been inactive. In 1692, the French regained Arcadia (Nova Scotia), and in the summer of 1696, Pemaquid was taken, extending the dominion of France into Maine. Two years later the conquest of New England was projected but abandoned without a trial. September 20, 1697, the peace of Ryswick was signed, and the so-called King William's War was suspended. France was given all the northern coast from Maine to Labrador, Canada, and the valley of the Mississippi, and claimed the coast as far as Kennebec. This truce only lasted a little more than four years, and France and England were at each other's throats. The Indians were incited to attack, and in February, 1704, Deerfield, one of the most lovely of the western villages was surprised at night and all but one

house and the church burned. Forty-seven of the English were slain and one hundred and eighty carried into captivity. In July, Lancaster was burned and many of the inhabitants murdered; in 1708, Haverhill suffered even a worse fate.

In 1710 the most elaborate expedition yet attempted, was planned by the English. Francis Nicholson of New York was the commander, his force consisting of six English vessels and thirty of New England, together with New England regiments, two of which were from Massachusetts. The fleet set out for Port Royal with practically the same end in view as the disastrous affair of 1690. Victory came to the English in so far as Port Royal was concerned, for with its garrison of a hundred men it surrendered. Arcadia was once more in the hands of the English who celebrated the event by naming the place Annapolis in honor of their Queen.

Encouraged by this minor engagement, a grand fleet comprising fifteen warships and forty transports, carrying seven regiments of veterans from Marlborough's army, was sent from England. Sir Hovenden Walker was in command. He stayed around Boston until almost August before making a move, when the fleet now increased to eighty vessels started for Montreal and Quebec. Arriving at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the ships ran into a dense fog. The pilots "advised that the fleet lie to, with the heads of the ships to the southward." Walker from his bed ordered them to face the north. The east wind drove them among the Egg Islands. Although the frigates were saved, eight of the transports were lost and nearly a thousand perished. For a second time the attempt to conquer France in America failed, for the remaining vessels returned to Boston without ever having come within sight of the enemy. Admiral Walker congratulated himself on his "successful retreat," for said he: "Had we arrived safe at Quebec, ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part Providence saved all the rest." On the other hand the French "could not but recognize a Providence which watched singularly over its preservation... hence they rendered Him the most heartfelt thanks." The Colonists are said to have believed that "Providence never designed the northern continent of America to be under the dominion of one nation."

With two failures behind them, it was seven years before the Colonies again joined hands in war on Canada. The Province of Massachusetts was thriving. It had a population of "ninety-four thousand white persons, who possessed two thousand slaves; and twelve hundred civilized Indians who professed Christianity and tilled their lands in peace." This was more than a quarter of the total population of all the combined states. In maritime matters there was great strength, Massachusetts

having "at least one hundred and ninety vessels" engaged in trading, navigated by eleven hundred sailors. "The value of the annual imports to all the American plantations at this date is estimated as one million pounds sterling, the conveyance of which employed at least a fourth of the shipping clearing from the Kingdom." The exports were about eight hundred thousand. England was not above taking advantage of this prosperity by way of taxes and demands, nor was she slow in putting restrictions on any attempt at manufactures that would reduce the amount of imported goods.

Indian troubles still plagued the New Englander, but taking things in his own hands, Sebastian Rasle, "The Jesuit," was slain with the chiefs who were allied with him, which brought practically to an end difficulty with the savage. Finding scalp-hunting was dangerous, the aborigine turned his attention to furs, and soon learned trading with the New Englander was almost as exciting and decidedly safer. One of the notable forays by a Middlesex County man was made just prior to the ending of Rasle. Massachusetts had followed the example of Canada and was paying fifteen pounds for Indian scalps. In the winter of 1724-5 John Lovewell with a party of volunteers, was successful in two attacks upon the Indians; on the third at Fryeburg, he was slain with most of his men. This was the end of the white traffic in scalps.

In 1744, France declared war with England. Before the news had reached America, the commander at Louisburg surprised the troops at Canseau and took eighty of them prisoners. Louisburg was the stronghold of the French in the east, and thought to be impregnable. It was called the "Dunkirk" and the "Gibraltar of America." Located on the Island of Cape Breton, the fortifications had been built so as to command the St. Lawrence, and thus give forever the control of the navigation of that stream. It was formidable; the "people of New England looked with awe on its sombre walls whose towers rose like giants above the northern seas." Its harbor was guarded by a heavy battery on Goat Island, and by the "Grand Battery" near the entrance. A deep moat and projecting bastions were on the landward side, and the opposite was the great careening dock. An unbroken line of defenses surrounded the town. The plans had been drawn up by Vauban, the great military engineer of Louis XIV, and had all the essentials of the famous fortifications of Europe.

**Capture of Louisburg**—Governor Shirley conceived the idea of taking this fortress. On Massachusetts depended not only the management of the expedition, but the supplying of most of the soldiers and supplies, only eight hundred being furnished by New Hampshire and Connecticut, her only allies. Colonel William Pepperell of Maine was given

LEXINGTON MONUMENT, LEXINGTON

GRAVE OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON, SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY, CONCORD

the command. "The naval forces consisted of three frigates of twenty guns, a 'snow' of sixteen guns, a brigantine of twelve guns, and five sloops mounting eight to twelve guns, provided at the expense of Massachusetts." The troops arrived at Canseau in April, 1745, being joined there by Warren's West India fleet. It was hoped to land on Cape Breton before daylight, and a surprise attack made. But this was not possible and it was soon clear that only by a siege could the fortress be reduced. By a stroke of good fortune the "Grand Battery" fell into the hands of the invaders. On landing they had set fire to some naval houses and the dense smoke from these so struck with panic the battery, that, spiking their guns, they fled. The guns with the spikes drilled out proved of great aid to the Massachusetts troops who were very illy supplied with artillery.

In the months of attrition that followed it was extremely doubtful whether the Massachusetts troops could outlast those of the fortress. Several of the outlying batteries were captured, and a sixty-four gun French frigate laden with stores for the besieged was taken. The following from Hale's "Story of Massachusetts" gives a picture of the situation then and at the end: "In the meantime the garrison had done almost nothing. Duchambon, the commander, was doubtful of the trustworthiness of his regulars because they had been forced to work on the fortifications through the winter, and their pay had not been forthcoming. Then he was weak in numbers, having at the best only eight hundred French and a thousand Canadian militia, most of whom consisted of hurriedly pressed habitants. So he merely lay within his fortifications, hoping devoutly that some aid might turn up, and satisfying himself with repelling such attacks as might be made. Still, by the middle of June, it became apparent to Pepperell, that the siege might drag on and on unless vigorous measures were taken. The Light-house battery, though useful in its work, did not succeed in silencing the battery on the Island. The Royal battery was not of great service because the cannons taken from the French could not be used with the shot that the Provincial happened to have. Tidcome's and other batteries near the harbor were doing good service against the Dauphin's Bastion which defended the west gate. The commodore did not feel wholly comfortable at sea. He was running short of provisions; he feared the arrival of a superior French force. He continually urged Pepperell to an assault. In some way things on shore were not going to suit the general mind. There was a great lack of powder. There was a good deal of illness in the camp, over a thousand being on the sick list. Although the first efforts had been successful, nothing had been done on shore of late and the siege was hardly more advanced than it had been a month before. Under the circumstances Pepperell, after consulting with Commodore Warren,

yielded to the commodore's desire to attack the place by storm. It was arranged that the ships should sail by the Island Battery into the harbor and bombard the town, while the land forces should make an assault on the Dauphin's Bastion which was the most depleted of the four. While these negotiations were in progress, the French commander rendered them unnecessary. On June 16, after a siege of 48 days the town surrendered. Duchambon who was not an officer of the highest military skill, was frightened out of his position. . . . The absolute blockade kept up by Warren's fleet, the capture of the projected aid, the gradual advance of the provincial batteries and the imminence of an assault by a superior force had a discouraging effect on his powers of endurance." The great day of the surrender was June 17, 1745. The capture of the Dunkirk of America filled Europe with astonishment, Pepperell was made a baronet and Warren a Rear-Admiral by George II. Said an English historian of the event: "That a colony like Massachusetts should display such a remarkable military spirit; that they should equip both land and sea forces to attack a redoubtable fortress, called by British officers impregnable, and on which the French crown had expended immense sums, that four thousand militia. . . should conquer the regular troops of the greatest military power of the age. . . all appear little short of a miracle."

The Colonies rejoiced exceedingly over the notable victory, and conceived the project of conquering the whole of Canada. All the states in the country were to join in this affair, and England promised to send eight battalions, with a squadron under Admiral Warren. France, not to be outdone, also planned the recovery of Louisburg and the invasion of Massachusetts. In 1746 a great fleet of seventy vessels sailed from Brest "to conquer British North America from Virginia to Newfoundland." D'Anville, the commander of the expedition, had an army of three thousand, while half that number was expected of the Canadians to join him on this side of the water. New England became thoroughly alarmed as well it might, for this force was larger than had been landed on the shore of any enemy's country. The alarm proved needless, as terrific storms hit the fleet, and D'Anville arrived at Halifax with only two men-of-war and a few transports. D'Anville died, the Vice-Admiral committed suicide, the men perished of disease by hundreds. Even when the remnants set sail for Louisburg, a storm hit them, and they set sail for France. Another expedition sent from France was turned back by the ships of Anson and Warren.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg to France, and the war ended with everything left much as it had been at the beginning. The value of the achievement was not lessened by the fact that the colonies received no material benefit from it. "Its importance lay," says

Hale, "in that it was the united act of the colonies, and not only the united act but practical proof of the united military power of the New England colonists. The union of the American Colonies, in so far as it was accomplished for military purposes, both before this and after it, had an importance not so easily seen at that time as now. It made familiar to them the idea of union for military purposes which readily became actual in 1776."

**French and Indian War**—Once more Massachusetts was to be called on to war for the mother country, as well as to defend its borders. In 1754, the French again began encroaching on the territory of the Province, and a force of 800 men were enlisted to march to Kennebec and erect forts in the neigborhood. This was the period to which the title "French and Indian War" is applied although all of those from 1692 were really French and Indian wars. Of the defeat of Braddock in Ohio, or of the Crown Point and Ticonderoga campaigns, nothing will be said here except to note that Putnam and other New England men played prominent parts, and that at Lake George for five hours New England Militia kept up "the most violent fire yet known in America," thereby turning the tide of battle.

Two incidents of the war were more than any of the others of importance in their effect upon Massachusetts. One was the removal of the Arcadians from their homes and their dispersion through nearly every colony along the coast. The French forts of Arcadia were conquered in the early summer of 1755. Immediately the question arose, "What shall be done with the large number of Arcadians in the region?" Nominally they were English; at least by the Treaty of Utrecht they had been placed under the dominion of England. They were French, however, "neutral French" perhaps, in nationality, religion and tastes. For two hundred years they had been in possession of the land, and quiet and happy in the seclusion of their land. But on advices from England they were ordered into exile, ordered to be treated as captives and sent to live with the English in scattered groups. Tricked and kidnapped at Grand Pré and other places, seven thousand were taken aboard ships, the men on the early ships, the women and children on transports to arrive later (some did not come until December), and dispersed from Georgia to New Hampshire. A great many of them were placed in the towns of Middlesex, and profoundly influenced the development of some of the towns. The Arcadians never were able to return to their homes. Longfellow's "Evangeline" is a beautiful tribute to the memory of this worthy long-suffering people.

The second event, more far reaching in its effect upon Massachusetts, was the siege and capture of Quebec. There were three expeditions

planned against this citadel in 1758; one by way of the St. Lawrence, one to cross Lake Champlain, the third to conquer Niagara, come down the river and take Montreal and thence to Quebec. Wolfe was in command of the first-mentioned expedition, and it was with him that most of the soldiery of Massachusetts went, nearly seven thousand men in this State alone being raised for this one coup. The expense of this year, 1758, to Massachusetts was more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The troops sent to Niagara failed to accomplish their work in time to be of assistance at Quebec. General Amherst, in command of the army, to come by way of Lakes George and Champlain, was so delayed that the summer passed and he turned back, "having done nothing but occupy and repair deserted forts." The fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, 44 ships of war, and the army under Wolfe, about eight thousand men, arrived before Quebec in June. A siege was necessary and begun at once. Point Lévis was taken and batteries placed that greatly harassed the city with its fire. Entrenchments were thrown up on the western part of the Isle of Orleans and on the east bank of the Montmorency. July and August saw little farther advance, but September found a narrow path leading up the precipitous bank of the cove that later was to be called by his name. By this he attempted to surprise the city on the early morning of September 13, 1759. When daylight came Wolfe's army held the Plains of Abraham, but was attacked about noon-day by Montcalm. By night Quebec had fallen, and both of the commanders had been mortally wounded. A counter attack failed, and never again did France occupy this fortress, and her sway was never again to be felt in America. Although peace was not formally declared until 1763, the French war, as far as the Colonies were concerned, ended with the capitulation of Montreal on September 9, 1760. The cost of the war to Massachusetts in men and money was exceedingly great, but was amply repaid in the trained soldiers and commanders, who in a few years had charge of the armies of thirteen united colonies.

**The New Government**—Meanwhile, since the loss of the charter in 1692, the Colony of Massachusetts was trying to find itself as a Province, and adapt itself as well as was possible to a form of government which was disliked. Really there had been little change in the actual running of political affairs. The governor was no longer elected, but often the Crown appointed the men desired by the colonists. The assembly did not have the power it exerted formerly, but it did have enough to enforce many of its ideas and to make life miserable for anyone who tried to force it to act against its will. For one thing, the Assembly paid the bills, one of which was the Governor's salary. Probably more time was used in the legislature in battle over this wage item.

Never would it promise a definite amount, doling it out year by year, and never was more than a thousand pounds voted for this one purpose. A Governor is not apt to be very defiant or insistent, when he is dependent on the good will of an assembly for the means to pay his grocery bill. Except for the parts they played in war, the list of the Governors of the Province are hardly worth the remembering; they were but little more than paid clerks of the "General Court," having but little to do with direction of the development of the State. The Governors under the Province, chartered by William and Mary were: William Phipps, from 1692 to 1695; Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, from 1697 to 1707; Joseph Dudley, from 1702 to 1715; Samuel Shute, from 1716 to 1727; William Burnet, from 1728 to 1729; Jonathan Belcher, from 1730 to 1741; William Shirley, from 1741 to 1757; Thomas Pownall, from 1757 to 1760; Francis Bernard, from 1760 to 1769; Thomas Hutchinson, from 1769 to 1774; Thomas Gage, from 1774 to October, 1775.

At the close of the French war in 1763, in spite of having passed through nearly three quarters of a century of wars that had taken a tremendous toll of both men and means, the Province had grown wonderfully and was prosperous. Massachusetts had a population of 245,000 whites and 5,000 blacks. At least these were the figures given at a time when a suspicious State was not anxious to have its full numbers known; they are probably substantially below the mark. There were thirteen counties and two hundred and forty towns within its limits which then included Maine and New Hampshire. Six hundred vessels were needed for its commerce. The principal manufacturing done was ship-building. Other manufacturers did not amount to a great deal because England had discouraged growth in this direction. Much of the restrictive legislation was directed against the manufacture of anything that England made. There was wealth enough in the Province to import most articles needed, so that the home manufactures had not equaled in growth that of soil and sea productions. Wool was plentiful, and the spinning wheel and loom were in the homes of the farmers. Flax grew readily, and cotton was coming into increasing use. It had been found as early as the seventh century that cotton could be used as the warp in cloth, and every year saw new uses made of this material. Rum or the sugar to make it was one of the regular imports from the West Indies, and luxuries made up the larger amount of that brought in from England. But Massachusetts was getting to the place where the exports exceeded the imports, a condition that worried the mother country. In fact, the colonies were getting so completely self-supporting as to make them, did they so wish, entirely independent of England.

Religion had become more liberal, and this element in the New England life was as vigorous as ever although the forms had been modified

There were more than half a thousand churches in New England, and these were the headquarters of politics as well as of worship, the meeting-house being virtually the town hall. Education was fostered; the first college founded in America had kept in step with the advancement of the times. Provisions for the support of grammar schools had been in force for a century. The press had been established, and although there were few news-sheets at this time, there were a sufficient number of publishing houses to issue the literary efforts of both home and foreign authors. Inter-communication had been improved, the post road and the coach bringing the widely separated colonies and towns of a colony, rather closely in touch with each other. At the end of the war, then, we have a large, prosperous, wide-awake Province, that could be of tremendous value to England, if treated sensibly. That it was estranged and later lost to the mother country was the fault of a stupid King and a foolish ministry.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

With the succession of George the Third to the English throne began the recession of the colonies. There was, indeed, a growing feeling of independence on this side of the water, but there was also a deep affection for the mother country that held in check any desire for separation. The settlers of Massachusetts were Englishmen, and wanted to remain such. They were, however, the sons of men who had come to a strange land that they might be free. They had learned the ways of freedom, they had paid a great price and were ready to pay a higher one if necessary to retain that dearly bought freedom. There was also some discontent over the manner in which the affairs of the colony were being handled by the English officials. Now, if ever, was the time when delicacy and care must be used by the Crown if the lusty discontented child was to be kept from breaking away from the parental authority.

Through the irony of Fate, it was a pompous, narrow minded, obstinate George the Third who rose to shape the destinies of Britain and her colonies. He and his ministry realized that the child was getting out of hands, and pressure was brought to make the babe understand that it was free to do only what his parents said that it might. It is not likely that the English government realized that it was not dealing with a small weak babe. Surely there could have been no recognition of the fact that, on this side of the ocean, were thirteen almost grown sons, that could not be spanked with impunity. In no other way can the blunders of the King and Parliament at this critical period, be explained.

The things actually done by the English King and his tools were not extreme in themselves. Three lines of policy had been in force in the treatment of colonies for some years. There was the "Acts of Trade" rule, by which Britain reserved to herself the cream of the shipping and exchange. English troops had been used in this country for a number of the more recent years, the French and Indian wars having made this necessary. The colonies had been taxed, as a matter of course, to provide a part of the support of these men. The third policy was the keeping of permanent British garrisons in America.

It was the manner of the enforcement of these policies rather than the policies themselves that aroused opposition in Massachusetts. New restraints of navigation were practiced. Additional taxes were enforced.

More troops were sent to be harbored by the colonies, although danger from France, or any other nation, had passed. Possibly all of these aggressions might have been overlooked by the Americans busy with their own affairs, and capable of carrying the additional load placed on their shoulders, had they been done with less pomp and supercilious statement of the purpose behind the movement. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the taxes imposed were not so much for the securing of revenue as to make America realize that they were subservient to England.

**The Stamp Act**—A stamp act was enacted in 1765. From all over the State and county came resolutions passed by the towns demanding its repeal, and instructing its representatives to do nothing that would aid in the enforcement of the act. Rioting broke out. For a time courts of law were suspended and no clearance papers were given to ships, because neither the courts nor the masters of vessels dared brave the wrath of an aroused people. The Act was repealed the next year. There was great rejoicing. Middlesex County had showed her disapproval of the Stamp Act even before the Massachusetts House of Representatives had passed its solemn protest.

A change in the English ministry led to a change in the manner of imposing taxes, for the King realized that the principle of taxing the colonies must not be given up even if one effort in this line had failed. Upon the proposal of Charles Townshend, a new act was passed by Parliament in 1767 providing for import taxes, whereby duties were laid on certain articles, particularly tea. The pill was sugar coated, since the tax was small and the proceeds were to be used to pay the salaries of the governors and judges in America. But the medicine refused to go down. "No taxation without representation" became the cry. The right of the English Parliament to tax the colonies was firmly denied. When a ship-load of tea was sent to Boston in 1773, the people gave more violent expression to their ideas; the Boston Tea Party marked the climax of five years of controversy over import duties.

**"The Boston Massacre"**—Meanwhile, the number of English troops had been increased in the colonies. Two regiments had arrived in Boston in September of 1768, and since then Boston had been a garrisoned town. In 1769 the General Court had removed to Cambridge, because the representatives refused to transact business while under military duress. There was constant friction between the people and the troops, which had its climax in the riot of March 5, 1770, the "Boston Massacre." Three years later, there was the Boston Tea Party, the violent rejection of the only tax still in force.

It is not to be expected that either the Englishmen in this country or the English rulers abroad, could withdraw from the inevitable conflict

towards which events were pointing. It meant a right about face, a confession of wrong doing, of which neither side was capable. The reply of the King and Parliament was the passing of five new laws. The first stopped all commerce with Boston until the town should express its submission. The second abrogated the charter given by William the Third in 1692. The councillors were made appointees of the Crown, paid by it; the town meeting was practically abolished and with it, all semblance of local self government. "The effect of these changes would, of course, be to concentrate all the power in the hands of the Governor, leaving no check on his arbitrary will. It would, in short, transform Massachusetts into an absolute despotism such as no Englishman had ever lived under in any age."

The third act provided for trial in England of anyone questioning the new laws. The fourth provided for the quartering of troops upon the inhabitants of the towns; evidently intended to establish a military government of Massachusetts. The fifth had to do with the government of Canada. To enforce these coercive measures, General Gage came to Boston with an army. He set up the tents of his regiments on the Common, cannons were mounted on the hills surrounding, the old fortifications at the Neck were rebuilt and a guard mounted there. Historians write of the Siege of Boston as though it were an affair lasting some eleven months. It began when Gage took possession of the town in May of 1773 and lasted until March of 1776. Gage never ruled as Governor of the Province outside the region covered by his soldiers. Civil government practically was at an end outside this limited area.

**Civil and Military Organization**—Middlesex County had not been idle as the punishment of the Province was being pressed by Gage. The old militia was revived. The train band of fifty to a hundred, of which most of the towns had at least one, drilled on the commons. Guns were purchased where possible. Old fire-locks were taken from their pegs over the doors of the home and put in order. If plough-shares and pruning hooks were not actually turned into swords and spikes, at least the number of the latter exceeded the farm implements, and were receiving the more attention.

Every impediment that could be thrown in the way of the King's troops in their collection of supplies, was employed. More and more did each faction torment the other, until bitterness and hatred filled the hearts of both. Middlesex County had a civil and military organization at this time, but much of it was Tory in sentiment. It was as follows:

Justices of the Inferior Court—Samuel Danforth, John Tyng, Joseph Lee, James Russell. Clerk—Thaddeus Mason. High Sheriff—David Phips. Deputy Sheriffs—William Howe, Cambridge; Peter Ball, Waltham; James Kettle, Malden; John

Farrar, Framingham; William Greene, Reading; Joseph Butler, Concord; William Pierce, Chelmsford; Sampson Tuttle, Littleton; Joseph Shiple, Groton; Elisha Bacon, Natick; Munnings Swain, Marlborough; Joseph Reed, Westford. Coroners—Abraham Watson, Jr., Cambridge; Josiah Smith, Weston; and D. Haven. Judge of Probate—Samuel Danforth. Register of Probate—William Kneeland. Register of Deeds—John Foxcroft. Field-officers of the several Regiments of Militia:

First Regiment—William Brattle, Colonel; Thomas Oliver, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abraham Fuller, First Major; Thomas Brattle, Second Major.

Third Regiment—Elisha Jones, Colonel; Charles Prescott, Lieutenant-Colonel; Joseph Curtis, Major.

Third Regiment, South Part—John Noyes, Colonel; John Jones, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Farrar, Major.

Sixth Regiment—James Prescott, Colonel; Jonathan Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel; Oliver Prescott, Major.

Some of these names are emblazoned on the shining shield of History, some are embalmed in the musty records of that day, all but forgotten; each according to the part he played in after events.

The training which the town meeting had given the residents of Middlesex in self government was early put to use. The towns managed their affairs as well as though there had been an active civil government. Meetings were held where grievances were put on paper, and resolutions passed and sent to the brother towns. Some of these did little more than to clarify the situation in the minds of the writers, but all tended to unify both the minds and efforts of the people throughout Middlesex and the Province. It was universally recognized that the affairs of the country were approaching an alarming crisis, and that it was time for all good men and true to put their houses in order to face disaster.

Middlesex called her delegate convention at Concord, with one hundred and fifty delegates answering the call. Hon. James Prescott of Groton was the chairman; Ebenezer Bridge of Billerica, secretary. A committee consisting of Jonathan Williams Austin of Chelmsford, Captain Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, Doctor Isaac Foster of Charlestown, Captain Joseph Stone of Framingham, Richard Devens of Charlestown, Dr. Oliver Prescott of Groton, Henry Gardner of Stow, William Brown of Framingham and Ebenezer Bridge, Jr., of Billerica, were appointed to draw up the protest against the acts of Parliament "for the better government of Massachusetts Bay" which had so incensed the people of the Province.

The document is too long to quote, but ranks high as a predecessor of the Declaration of Independence. Its final resolution was "That it is the opinion of this body of delegates that a Provincial Congress is absolutely necessary in our present unhappy situation. Promise was given to abide by the resolutions of such a Congress. In closing it recites "On the whole these are great and profound questions. We are

grieved to find ourselves reduced to the necessity of discussing them. But we deprecate a state of slavery. Our fathers left us a fair inheritance, purchased by a waste of blood and treasure. This we are resolved to transmit to our children after us. No danger shall affright us, no difficulties intimate us; and if in support of our rights, we be called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon who lays down his life in the support of the laws and liberties of his country." The resolutions were forwarded to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia and duly endorsed by that august body, with an expression of the realization by the other colonies that the struggle then going on in Massachusetts was one to be shared by them.

The time had come when more than words were needed, more than money, aid, and votes of sympathy. Probably the best of the many famous bits of oratory of that day was the quiet remark of one Colonel Washington, who said, "I will raise one thousand men towards the relief of Boston, and subsist them at my own expense."

The time came for action in Middlesex rather sooner than was expected. In what is now Somerville, stood an old wind mill, dating probably from the time of John Mallet, 1703-04, and sold by his son in 1747 to the Province. It was changed from its ancient uses, being used as a powder magazine. Upon the information of William Brattle of Cambridge, at that time major-general of the Massachusetts Militia, General Gage sent an expedition to take the powder then stored within its heavy walls. About daybreak on September 1, 1774, two hundred and sixty British troops sailed up the Mystic River from Boston, and carried the two hundred and fifty barrels of powder to their boats. At the same time a detachment was sent to Cambridge to get two field pieces that belonged to Major Brattle's regiment.

It was a simple affair, but almost precipitated war. The powder belonged to the Province. Gage was well within his rights in removing it to where he thought it was needed. But the temper of the people was manifested in the manner in which they took the seizure. Immediately upon the circulation of the news, several thousands began to gather in Cambridge with arms, provisions and ammunition. This was the first occasion where the provincials assembled in arms with the intention of opposing the forces of their King. This was the real beginning of the Revolution; only the whim of fate prevented the first blood of the conflict from being shed in Cambridge on September 2, 1774, instead of at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775. Perhaps it was fortunate that it was so, for the revolutionists needed all the time possible to prepare to meet so formidable a foe as Britain.

There was no collision with troops. The gathered folk of Middlesex

compelled the resignation of the Judges Danforth and Lee, the two Cambridge members of the Council. The high-sheriff of Middlesex, Colonel David Phips, was forced to promise to do nothing in the execution of the new laws. Surrounding the house of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver on Brattle Street, they demanded his resignation. He did so under protest which he indicated with the words, "My house being surrounded by about four thousand people, in compliance with their commands I sign my name, —Thomas Oliver." The crowd then looked for General Brattle but he wisely had fled to Boston.

**Meeting of Provincial Congress**—On October 17, a Provincial Congress met in the courthouse at Cambridge, after having met at Salem a week earlier where it had waited for the Governor in vain. After going into secret session, they appointed a committee to consider the proper time for the laying in of warlike stores. The committee reported that the time was "now." Without delay it voted the purchase of 20 field pieces, 4 mortars, 20 tons of grape and round shot, 5,000 muskets and bayonets and 75,000 flints. No more taxes were to be paid to the Royal Treasury, and assessments were arranged for the payment of the defensive preparations. Three generals were selected, Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward and Seth Pomeroy. A Committee of Public Safety was appointed, of whom John Hancock was the more notable, and Joseph Warren the most active. This committee had the authority to call out the militia, every fourth man of which was expected to hold himself ready to march at a minute's notice, the "Minute Men" later so famous. Adjournment was made until late in November, by which time the committee had used its money so well that not only had the supplies voted been purchased but they had secured as well, 350 spades and pick-axes, 1,000 wooden mess bowls, and some pease and flour. "That" said Sir George Trevelyn, "was their stock of material wherewith to fight the empire which recently, with hardly any sense of distress, had maintained a long war with France and Spain, and had left them humbled and half ruined at the end of it."

Henry Gardner of Stow was appointed receiver-general with headquarters in the room of the Tory treasurer of the Province, who was by this impudent act totally ignored as an official. "Appointing a receiver-general," wrote Dr. Reynolds, "it took possession of the purse; organizing a committee of safety, it seized the sword; through its committee of supplies it gathered the munitions of war; by its minute inquiries it may almost be said to have counted every musket and fowling-piece, and weighed every ounce of powder in the Province. It appointed commanders and commissaries; it established military laws and reg-

ulations; it collected in depots provisions, clothing, tents and military supplies of all sorts; and it purchased powder, muskets and cannon."

Although war had not been declared, some very warlike gestures were being made by both sides. On one hand there was General Gage, the nominal ruler of the Province, shut up in Boston by no visible entrenchments or forces, but held there just the same. On the other hand, there was outside of Boston little recognition of his authority. The Province was practically in revolt, without civil government, having only a Congress whose suggestions had the force of laws. Gage was having extreme difficulty in providing winter quarters and supplies for his men. The Province was daily adding to its supplies, and becoming increasingly ready for any eventuality. "The women scraped lint and made cartridges and haversacks, the men ran bullets and fitted powder-horns and flints during the long winter's evenings. Cannon and cannon-balls were spirited out of Boston under loads of manure; powder and musket-balls in the hampers of the country-people." There still was no open rebellion; both sides were careful in not provoking any actual engagement of arms. Publicly the people were subjects of their sovereign; privately they paid no attention to the mandates of that sovereign. It was a condition that could not last; the armed peace was shortly broken by one of those relatively small events which so often seals the fate of one state and marks the rise of another.

**Second Provincial Congress**—A second Provincial Congress met at Cambridge on February 1, 1775. It reaffirmed the powers previously given to the Committees on Supplies and Safety, confirmed the appointments of Hancock, Cushing, the two Adamses, and Robert Treat Paine as delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. All persons aiding in any way the English troops were branded as enemies to America; the manufacture of "salt petre by all who could" was recommended. John Pigeon was chosen commissary to the provincial militia and John Whitcomb as an additional officer. After transacting other minor business the Congress adjourned to meet in Concord on the 22nd of March.

It met shortly later, however, for further preparation for defense. While in session, word was brought that an address had been made in Parliament declaring Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion. Both houses had voted that this rebellion must be crushed; additional troops sent to Boston for this purpose; and that the trade and fisheries of the Province must be taken from them. The Congress met the news by resolving to raise an army. Committees were sent to the nearby States asking their coöperation. County committees were established to receive the reports from the towns concerning their action in relation to the preparations. The Committee for Middlesex was made up of

James Prescott of Groton, Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln, Richard Devens of Charlestown, Simeon Spaulding of Chelmsford, and Jonathan Brown of Watertown. After providing for the raising of six companies of field artillery, and authorizing the Committee of Safety to secure the services of proper field officers for the proposed standing army, the Congress adjourned on April 15 to meet again at Concord on the 10th of May.

As supplies were gathered by the various towns, they were carried to Worcester and Concord and hidden there in the homes of the friends of liberty. Gage knew of this. There were so many individuals with interests opposed to those with whom they were living, that nothing could be done that was not immediately known by the opponent. He knew the danger to him of these accumulations. He issued a proclamation declaring that all such proceedings verged on treason, and prohibited compliance with the resolves and requisitions of the unlawful Congress.

No attention having been paid to his proclamations, General Gage determined to seize the "rebel magazines" at Worcester and Concord. Spies had been sent to reconnoitre the ground, and to feel the pulse of the people. One had made his way to map out the route to Worcester. He made his way through Watertown to Weston, but being discovered at the Golden Ball Tavern of that place, was so thoroughly frightened that he reported that if an attempt was made to march troops over the road to Worcester not one man would come through alive. The attempt to seize the material stored at Worcester was given up and attention, thereafter, centered upon Concord.

Reports coming out of Boston showed something brewing in the way of a troop movement. Certain companies of the royal regiments had been relieved of guard duty, evidently for service elsewhere. Boats were being collected, all this on Saturday the 15th of April. Word was sent by Warren in Boston to Hancock and Adams at the house of Jonas Clark in Concord. A blow was expected, but when was not known; just where it would fall was suspected. On Monday orders were sent out from the Black Horse Tavern, at Arlington (Menotomy), where the Safety Committee was meeting, for the distribution of all ordnance, ammunition and provisions among nine towns, of which Concord was one. Orders were also given for the removal of most of the valuable ordnance in Concord to places in Sudbury and Groton.

As already remarked, Joseph Warren was the most active, possibly the most influential member of the Safety Committee. His work was done in the least safe place, Boston, and not around the committee table. He was the pride of the people, the leader of the ardent Sons of Liberty. One of his best friends, one evidently having his full trust, was Paul Revere, himself one of the leading revolutionaries. Revere

was sent to Hancock and Adams on Sunday with some message of warning. Upon his return journey he arranged at Charlestown to watch for signals on the steeple of North Church in Boston. Two lanterns would be shown if the British moved from the town by water; one should they go by land.

Tuesday, and all seems quiet in Boston. If any immediate movement of troops was contemplated the fact was well hidden. At ten o'clock that night, six hundred grenadiers, the pick of the Royal Army, marched silently to the beach at the foot of the Common. Into the boats that awaited them they clambered and set across the Charles to Cambridge. Colonel Francis Smith had been chosen to lead these troops with Major John Pitcairn second in command. The soldiers landed at Lechmere's Point, floundered through the marshes and waited until two in the morning for provisions. A delay of three hours when minutes were precious.

**Paul Revere's Ride**—With the movement of troops in Boston, the secret was out. Warren sent for his friends, Revere and William Dawes, that they might ride and give the news to the countryside. To insure the getting through of at least one messenger, Dawes is instructed to ride by the "Neck," while Revere was to cross the river. Dawes has the longer way, but was in less danger. Paul Revere sees that the signal is lighted in North Church, rows across the Charles and is on his way to Lexington. Two miles from the landing and a horseman bars his way; another comes on from the rear. Revere leaves the road. One of his pursuers tumbles into a pit, the other is outdistanced. At Medford he has the alarm given that would call together the Minute Men of the place. He is ahead of Dawes, ahead of Smith and Pitcairn. By midnight he had reached Lexington and Hancock receives him into his house. Dawes arrives a half hour later.

Revere's ride was evidently undertaken with the idea that the British were coming to seize Hancock, Adams and others of the patriot leaders. Adams thinks that such a body of troops would not be sent for so small a purpose and hastens Dawes and Revere on to warn Concord. Dr. Samuel Prescott of Concord joins them on their journey. Suddenly they come on a group of British officers that had been sent on ahead of the Royal troops. Revere is captured but Prescott escapes to give the alarm. The officers fled towards Menotomy (Arlington) to join their advancing companies.

The bell had called minute-men and others to the Lexington green before the British troops had started from Cambridge, so there was much confusion and probably doubt of the correctness of Revere's news. Smith had marched but a few miles before the officers who had captured

Revere came riding toward him. Seeing the need of haste, since all was evidently known concerning the purpose of the expedition, he sent Pitcairn to push on and take the bridges at Concord. The Major had come within sound of Lexington before Captain John Parker had gathered his men again on the green.

**War for American Independence**—There were only about seventy in the patriot group who made their stand in a double row upon the common. Parker had ordered his men to load with ball and at the last moment gives the command: "Don't fire unless you are fired upon; but if they want war let it begin here." The British troops had been halted, ordered to load, and then to rush on the clustering seventy. Pitcairn was at their head. Brandishing his sword he cries, "Disperse rebels! Down with your arms! Disperse! Resistance is useless." Parker orders his men to disperse without firing. While sullenly in the act of obeying, someone, supposedly an English officer, fires a pistol. A few scattering shots, and then a volley is poured into the citizens on the green. Three minute-men are killed. Parker's men take shelter behind the fences and return the fire. Pitcairn's men drive them from the shelter and five more are slain, eight in all. The provincials had lost their first battle, the enemy remaining on the common cheering the victory. Shortly Smith arrives with the grenadiers, and the united forces set off to Concord. The villagers came and took away their dead and wounded. On the monument erected in honor of the dead are the words, "The blood of these martyrs was the cement of the Union of these States."

It probably will never be known who fired the fatal shot that provoked conflict neither side desired. There are few things more typically Yankee than the solemn depositions made a few days after the event stating that the blame was on the other side. The patriots were just as serious in stating the truth as they had been in fighting the grenadiers. The British accounts insist that their troops were first fired upon. It hardly seems possible that a few provincials would fire upon five times their number of regulars, when there was nothing to gain, and the order had been given not to do so. It is, on the other hand, very unlikely that Pitcairn intended to more than over-awe the "rebels" and go on his way to Concord, which after all, was his destination. It is very certain that Pitcairn tried to stop the shooting, and that both he and Colonel Smith regretted the whole circumstance. No one knows how the skirmish started, nor does it matter. Destiny was stronger than the intentions of men that day. The die had been cast, cast by the hand that held a pistol whose aimless shot awakened a nation.

Reforming, the royal troops marched on to Concord. The shire-town

WASHINGTON ELM, CAMBRIDGE, UNDER WHICH WASHINGTON FIRST TOOK COMMAND OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, JULY 3, 1775

CONCORD BRIDGE WITH MONUMENT IN FOREGROUND AND THE MINUTE MAN IN THE DISTANCE, ACROSS THE BRIDGE

was the military headquarters of this section of the county. Colonel James Barrett was the custodian of the provincial stores and commanded the regiment of minute-men formed from Concord, Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, Sudbury and other Middlesex towns. Another regiment was in the process of formation, of which Abijah Pierce of Lincoln was colonel and Thomas Nixon of Framingham, lieutenant-colonel; John Buttrick of Concord was a major. These regiments were not soldiers in any organized or uniformed sense. It is doubtful they had ever met in arms for drill. But the French and Indian wars had made a reservoir of veterans, and from this were these troops drawn.

The Battle of Concord has been too often described to require repetition. It will be recalled that the British entered the village without molestation and leisurely began the destruction of such supplies as they could find, which was but little. The provincials had fallen back across the North bridge. Reinforced by neighbors from Acton, Lincoln, Sudbury, Westford and Lexington, they felt strong enough to march back across the bridge and take up their stand there. Captain Laurie had been left by Colonel Smith to prevent any from crossing that bridge. There can be no doubt of the intentions of the Americans; the Acton men in the lead had guns equipped with bayonets; they were going to take the bridge. Laurie, after a short retreat, stopped his men and fired on the approaching militia. Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer were killed at the first shots. The Americans returned the fire and eight dropped to the earth, two never to rise. Laurie led his men back to the main forces in the village. The British were not fired on during the remaining hours spent in Concord. Perhaps they judged from this that the "rebels" had been cowed. Possibly they reasoned that a necessary lesson had been taught these villagers that would make them hesitate before again attacking Royal troops.

There is no question about the hesitancy of the Americans. They had driven the English from the North bridge, but they neither passed over it into the village nor did they retreat. They had lost their leader when Abner Davis had been shot down, and were puzzled as to what should be done next. However, the Americans had "fired the shot that rang round the world," and when leaders showed up in the persons of Major Brooks of Reading, and Colonel Thompson of Billerica, there began a concerted well directed gun fire upon the retreating grenadiers that gave greater emphasis to the meaning of the first brief skirmish.

Smith had delayed too long. All Middlesex was up in arms. By the time Smith started to leave Concord the way of his going was bordered by an enemy determined on vengeance. The Rubicon had been crossed; no longer did the Americans hesitate to attack. A most furious assault was made of the British that increased as the day was prolonged,

becoming more sanguinary with every mile. As fast as the Royal column passed one ambuscade, the provincials ran across the fields and prepared another. The retreat became a rout. Smith was wounded; Pitcairn unhorsed; confusion reigned. And all this before they had passed the village green at Lexington, where they had celebrated, with shouts and laughter, their victory of the morning. In sorry plight the regiments hurriedly tried to make their way back to Boston, with the knowledge that without aid this was impossible of accomplishment without a loss of practically all the force. But fortune was with them. At the time of their direst need the hoped-for help came.

We must turn back to the morning of this fateful day. At nine, Lord Percy had been dispatched from Boston with a supporting column marching by way of the present Boylston Street through Cambridge. There had been a slight delay at the "Great Bridge" because the Cambridge folk had removed some of the planking from the bridge. Unfortunately thrift had led them to neatly pile the planks just this side of the water, where they were quickly secured by the soldiers and dropped back in place. The Common caused even a greater delay, for there were so many roads crossing it and leading out in so many directions that Lord Percy became lost at Harvard Square. Even today the stranger finds himself in difficulties upon reaching this section; only the directions from some kindly Cantabridgian can set him straight. There were no kindly folk on that long ago day, and Percy wandered blindly until he finally hit upon the right road. His troops eventually met those hastening from Concord just this side of Lexington. He had arrived in the "nick of time"; the retreating columns were saved. Had the provincials been less intent on the punishment of Smith and Pitcairn, the juncture might easily have been prevented.

The united forces now number more than fifteen hundred men. Percy, realizing that the "Great Bridge" would be impassible, directed the retreat towards Charlestown and temporary safety.

The severest fighting of the day occurred at Menotomy (Arlington) and North Cambridge late in the afternoon. Half of the American losses were sustained in this struggle. The total losses of the British for the day were reported by General Gage as 65 killed, 176 wounded and 27 missing. The Americans lost 49 killed, 39 wounded and 5 missing. Middlesex supplied the most of the men engaged and sustained the majority of the casualties. No fewer than twelve towns lost men, and several others had representatives engaged.

Considered by minds accustomed to great events and figures by familiarity with the recent World War, the famous 19th of April, 1775, seems but a set of skirmishes, participated in by two small and ill trained groups. A "quiet sector in France" usually had more men engaged than

all the forces during the retreat. An "uneventful evening" often produced a greater number of casualties than were listed after the long day's fighting. The present generation may be excused if they lack the standards by which events should be judged. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts was more nearly right when he said, in his address at the quadrimillenial celebration held in Concord: "The number of slain is no necessary test of the importance of a battle. The English lost at Agincourt but four gentlemen, 'none else of name, and of other men, but five and twenty.' Plassy, which gained India to England, cost the victors seven European, and sixteen native soldiers killed. The Americans lost but twenty-seven at New Orleans. There were more Englishmen slain in the retreat from Concord than fell of Wolfe's army at the capture of Quebec, more than were slain on the Greek side at Marathon; more men fell on both sides than at the first battle of 'Bull Run.' Concord, the first battle-ground of the Revolution, is well named the birth-place of American liberty; for if in Boston was the conception, and in Lexington the agonizing throes of deadly pain, at Concord was the blessed child born."

War had begun, but only begun. There were long cruel years of warfare still to follow. War had started in a way that was displeasing to both sides. The English regretted that a pistol in the hand of some excited undisciplined soldier had precipitated a massacre. The Americans were sorry that theirs had been the first attack, that at the North bridge; even the fact that theirs had not been the first shot relieved the situation but little. There were excuses, explanations, recriminations, but it was too late; there could be no withdrawal. England, surprised at the temerity of her colony in attacking her forces, sent more, with very little thought of other than a brief campaign. The Provincial Congress met at Watertown, then the seat of the insurrectionary government, and laid plans for the raising of an army of 13,000 men, with General Artemas Ward as commander-in-chief.

**Israel Putnam**—Percy's troops had been moved into Boston. The Americans flocked to Cambridge. Within two days ten thousand had poured into the village, the movement continuing for weeks after. Israel Putnam had left his plow in a Connecticut furrow and arrived two days after the Concord-Lexington fight. There was no room to care for all the newcomers, so Harvard College dismissed its students, and its buildings became barracks, the college kitchen the seat of the commissariat. The Cambridge Tories fled to Boston leaving their homes to become the headquarters for the provincial military. General Putnam was quartered at the Inman House; John Stark from New Hampshire at the Royall House in Medford. John Glover and his Essex regiment

occupied the Vassall house and grounds. Artemas Ward located in the Hastings place.

Boston was in a state of siege, the no less real because the besieging army was only a heterogeneous mass of men, unorganized, inadequately armed and without cannon. There was no systematic scheme of entrenchments, no attempt had been made to fortify strategical points. Cambridge held most of the volunteers, although picket lines had been established from Charlestown to Roxbury, where General Thomas was located to shut off the only way of escape from Boston by land. Had Gage wished to attack, he would have met a force quite unready for any concerted action against a foe.

Gradually order was brought out of disorder. Artemas Ward became commander in fact instead of name; he received a new commission on the 20th of May. There was, however, too much good-fellowship of neighbors and jealousy among towns, for any New England chief to knit together in an army the elements so diverse as those at Cambridge. Two months passed before any definite action was taken by the Americans, when it was determined to take the heights of Charlestown and fortify them, a somewhat dangerous proceeding. The position was in no way essential for the protection of the Americans, rather the seizure of it was an attempt to stir Gage to action before further re-inforcements arrived, or possibly, merely a gesture of defiance. A few days earlier General Putnam had marched into Charlestown, over Breed's and Bunker Hills to the public square, and shouted defiance to the frigate "Somerset," anchored in the ferry-way.

**Battle of Bunker Hill**—On the evening of June 16, about one thousand Massachusetts troops, drawn from Prescott's Bridge's and Frye's regiments, with two field pieces, and two hundred Connecticut men under Captain Knowlton of Putnam's regiment, under the command of Prescott, set off, after prayer by President Langdon of Harvard College, for Bunker Hill. Colonel Gridley accompanied the force with a detachment in charge of the carts carrying the entrenching tools. A conference on the ground decided to entrench on Breed's Hill, seemingly, because being nearer to Boston, it would the more surely enrage Gage and provoke him to action. The strategy of the whole Bunker Hill seizure has puzzled military critics from that day to this. Colonel Prescott is not to be held responsible for the change of location nor the after events, for with so many higher in command on hand, his move must have been made either by the direction or the approval of those in authority. Putnam wanted Bunker Hill also protected.

From midnight to dawn the men labored building higher and higher the small fortifications. The main redoubt, around which most of the

fighting raged, was only eight rods square. Efforts to complete a breastwork on its left flank were frustrated by the British attack. The entrenching brigade had accomplished wonders, but both sides of the position were exposed. Nothing could be done to prevent the landing of the enemy where or when they pleased. Confusion reigned in Boston, the confusion of surprise, which only meant delay, but a delay that was precious to the Americans, giving as it did, more time to strengthen their position.

General Joseph Warren arrived on the scene. Putnam declared himself ready to receive orders from him, but Warren refused, asking only where "the onset will be more furious." He was pointed to the redoubt, and Warren joined the men in the entrenchment. Again, and this time by Colonel Prescott, he was tendered the command, but this was generously declined. "No," said the Doctor, for such was his civil position, "I am here to give what assistance I can, and to let these damned rascals," pointing to the British troops that were even then landing, "see that the Yankees will fight." The death of Warren that day was the severest loss sustained by the American cause. Shot as he lingered in the retreat, he cried, "I am a dead man. Fight on, my brave fellows, for the salvation of your country."

The story of the Battle of Bunker Hill is written large in the history of our country. It is also familiar to almost everyone; the young schoolboy can recite the events of the day, how many times the foe attacked and were driven down the Hill before the fatal lack of ammunition brought failure to the defenders. One recalls with a thrill the picture of the red-coats, climbing confidently and in the best of order to the breastworks, and the rustic volunteers, clad in shirt-sleeves because of the sultriness of the day, and the hours spent entrenching, waiting until the awesome foe had come within thirty yards before firing the volley that wrought havoc.

There were companies from fourteen of the British regiments, the Royal artillery, and two battalions of marines in the forces attacking the Hill, some of them the élite of the English army. The fire was too deadly for flesh and blood to withstand, and they were forced to withdraw. The Americans were exultant, but their exultation changed to hatred when, turning, they saw the flames of Charlestown fired by the orders of General Howe. Again came the assault, and again it proved disastrous to the attackers. Reinforcements were landed on the beach with Clinton at their head. The weakness of the defenses on the flanks of the redoubt had been uncovered, however, and the next attack was made directly on the redoubt by soldiers in open order under the command to rush the entrenchment with bayonets.

The defenders held their fire as had been done in the two previous

attacks. It was a mistake, for when once it was loosed the gunfire was too weak. The advancing line was staggered but not driven back. Instead the Royal troops swarmed over the parapet with fixed bayonets. With powder almost gone, the defenders fought back with naked hands. Stones, sticks, clubbed guns, muskets snatched from the invaders, anything and everything was used to repel the British. Twice were the English driven from the redoubt, but stubbornly fought their way back. Suddenly the Americans heard musketry at their backs. Realizing they were being surrounded, Prescott gave the command to fall to the rear, and the triumphant enemy had the blood-stained fortress.

The invaders pressed on after Prescott's troops. Only the staunch holding of the flanks, and the coming of re-inforcements from Bunker Hill, saved the little band from annihilation. Putnam tried to rally the Americans on Bunker Hill. Standing by a deserted cannon, he cried: "Make a stand here! In God's name, form and give them one shot more." No stand was made. The exhausted provincials withdrew from the peninsula to Prospect Hill in Somerville. By five o'clock the battle was over, but both sides having sustained such losses that neither cared to make any further advance. Cambridge was now open to an attack, but the enemy was too crippled to attempt it.

The British loss was reported as 226 killed, 828 wounded, a total of 1,054. The American losses were 115 killed, 305 wounded and 30 prisoners. Prescott's, Bridge's and Frye's companies lost more than all the other regiments combined. A surprising number of officers fell on both sides. Parliament was inclined to criticize the manner in which the choice troops of the Empire had been mauled by a "handful of raw undisciplined militia." General Howe replied "You may talk about your Mindens and your Fontenoys, but for my part I never saw such carnage in so short a time." Our ancestors "fought like brave men, long and well," but seldom had the British fought with more stubborn determination and valor than on Breed's Hill.

The importance of the Battle of Bunker Hill is not to be measured by the numbers engaged, or the losses sustained, any more than the affair at Concord and Lexington. The Americans lost, but in their manner of losing they won the respect of their adversaries. They were supposedly a psalm-singing un-military people; their capacity for resistance now had to be recognized.

General Lee, who had every means of knowing the truth, and with no desire to give approval, remarked: "To begin with the affair of Bunker Hill, I may pronounce that there was never a more dangerous, a more execrable situation, than these brave and unfortunate men (if those who die in the glorious cause of liberty can be termed unfortunate) were placed in. They had to encounter a body of troops, both in point

of spirit and discipline not to be surpassed in the whole world, headed by an officer of experience, intrepidity, coolness and decision. The Americans were composed, in part, of raw lads and old men, half armed, with no practice or discipline."

When Washington received the news of the manner in which the raw militia had withstood the fire of the British veterans, he exclaimed, "Then the liberties of the country are safe!"

General John Coffin, later a general in the British army and an accidental participant in the Battle of Bunker Hill, is accredited with saying after the war: "You could not have succeeded without it; for *something* was indispensable in the then state of parties, to fix men *somewhere*, and to show the planters of the South that the Northern people were really in earnest, and could and would fight. That, *that* did the business for you."

Within the outlines of the little redoubt, there is now a memorial obelisk, visited and known by thousands from all over the world. As one looks upon this plain stony finger pointing to the sky, one is likely to recall the words of him who said: "Today it speaks to us. Its future auditories will be the successive generations of men, as they rise up before it, and gather around it. Its speech will be of patriotism and courage, of civil and religious liberty, of free government, of the moral improvement and elevation of mankind, and of the immortal memory of those who with heroic devotion, have sacrificed their lives for their country."

Putnam, as already mentioned, had retreated as far as Prospect Hill in Somerville, and began that very night the fortification of his position. The British, strongly enforced, fortified Bunker Hill. Howard at Roxbury made frantic endeavors to increase his military works. The war became a battle of shovels, with the Americans far in the lead. Lacking in the munitions of war, they evidently had a goodly number of spades, and knew how to use them. The siege of Boston now became actual, the town taking on the aspect of a beleaguered camp. There was little cohesion in the American force, the number of men was few and they were illy equipped, but trenches, redoubts, forts, increased with a speed almost magical. There were many generals, but no single head and leader. Even the status of the army was uncertain. Were they rebel Englishmen, Provincial troops, Colonials? Were they ever to be recognized by the Continental Congress, or fight as citizens of a separate state? The officers at that time held commissions of Royal gift, and the uncertainty of the standing of the insurgents is quite clearly indicated by the curious fact that long after the Declaration of Independence, Massachusetts issued civil and military commissions in the King's

name. The enemies of King George III fought his troops with his commissions in their pockets.

**Commander-in-Chief**—Efforts were being made at Philadelphia to clear the situation. The Continental Congress was being urged to adopt the northern militia as a Continental army. The move was successful after high debate; four major-generals were appointed to this army, Lee, Schuyler, Ward and Putnam. John Hancock, president of the Congress desired the appointment of general-in-chief, but it was wisely recognized that it was inadvisable to appoint any New Englander as "chief among brethren." On June 16, 1775, one day before the Battle of Bunker Hill, the one man in the colonies whose military experience, ability and strength of character fitted him more than any other for the position, received a commission as Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army —George Washington. On July 3, a year and a day before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, he stood under the great elm in Cambridge and took command of his troops.

Washington greeted an army without artillery or useful small arms, without magazines or discipline, one unable to execute the smallest tactical manoeuver, and one numbering less than ten thousand of all classes. An official count of the troops at Cambridge made a few days after the Commander's arrival, mentions nineteen regiments with the total number of men as 8,076, of whom it was estimated that only about 6,000 were actually in camp. Even as late as January 10, 1776, the army only numbered 8,212 of which but 5,582 were recorded as fit for duty. And this was the army that was laying siege to a town in which were ten thousand of the finest foreign trained and equipped troops well supplied with field and siege pieces, with the reserves of the Castle and a fleet from which to draw.

Washington had practically to make over his army. Most of the men had enlisted for one, two or three months, who owned such arms as they carried. Most of them were farmers, and when a crop needed to be planted or harvested didn't hesitate to leave camp and do the job. The majority were housed in tents, than which there is no better producer of homesickness among men. Of uniforms there were none, and with homespun as the principal cloth material there could be none. Even the officers were without any insignia of rank, there was not even a common flag and very few regimental colors. One of the first requisitions of Washington was for one hundred axes and bunting for colors. It was an army of leather-breeched ragamuffins.

The Commander-in-chief attacked his problem with vigor and soon had a semblance of order. The troops were arranged in brigades and grand divisions. Companies were given definite work and positions.

Such things as could be made in camp were started. Armorers were set at repairing fire-locks; sailors at tent-making, carpenters at building barracks; tailors and shoemakers at making clothing and shoes.

Much had been already accomplished in the creation of beleaguering forts. The plans were gone over and the work expanded. The right wing of the army under General Ward, with General Spencer and Brigadier-General John Thomas, held the Roxbury position blocking the neck of the Boston peninsula. The left wing under General Lee was located in the hills of Somerville and along the Mystic. The center at Cambridge was under the command of General Putnam, whose brigade consisted of ten regiments. Entrenchments began at the Charles River in Cambridge and continued until they joined a redoubt on Prospect Hill in Somerville. Fort No. 1 was at the southern end of this line. Fort No. 2 was at what is now the corner of Putnam Avenue and Franklin Street. Fort No. 3 was at Union Square in Somerville.

Very few vestiges of these historic fortifications remain. The city of Somerville has made a park of what was the headquarters of many of the generals and troops of that period. An observatory dominates the park on which are inscriptions which give one of the best summaries of the men and events of the Siege of Boston. Some of these inscriptions are as follows:

"The American Army, under General Putnam, on June 17, 1775, withdrew from Bunker Hill to this height and here erected the citadel, the strongest work in the besieging line of battle, and which for nine months withstood the British bombardment, June, 1775, to March, 1776."

"Here on July 18, 1775, was raised, amid great rejoicing, the flag of General Israel Putnam and his heroic soldiers, bearing the motto of Connecticut, 'Qui Transtulit Sustinet' and of Massachusetts, 'An appeal to Heaven.'"

"From this eminence, on June 1, 1776, a flag of the united colonies, bearing thirteen stripes and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, first bid defiance to the foe."

When the new flag was unfurled at the fort, it lacked the stars, which a year later replaced the crosses.

"The flower of the British army, prisoners of war, who surrendered at Saratoga, were quartered on this Hill from November 7, 1777, to October 15, 1778, guarded by American troops under General William Heath."

A quotation from a letter, written by General Greene who commanded the troops on Prospect Hill at that time, should be of interest in giving a picture in few words of the hardships under which our forefathers fought. Said he: "We have suffered prodigiously for the want of wood. Many regiments have been obliged to eat their provisions nearly raw

for lack of fuel to cook them, and many more have suffered extremely from the terrible cold."

**Lack of Ammunition**—Washington gives an insight into the situation from another angle. He was constantly worried by the lack of powder of which little was made in the colonies. On the twenty-fourth of August he wrote: "We have been in a terrible position, occasioned by a mistake in a return; we reckoned upon three hundred quarter casks, and had but thirty-two barrels." Muskets were almost as hard to get as powder; almost anything that could shoot was utilized. As for cannon, not until Knox, with incredible labor, had dragged a few from Fort Ticonderoga on Lake George, and Captain Manley had captured the transport "Nancy," filled with guns and ammunition, could there be said to have been any artillery. Perhaps the most serious situation which Washington had to meet was in the winter when the terms of the enlistments of most of the army ran out. On the first of December, the Connecticut troops left their camps in a body and marched home, despite appeal and positive orders from headquarters to remain until Massachusetts men could be secured to replace them. The terms of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire men expired a month later. It looked as though one army would disband and another have to be formed before the siege could be continued. Washington wrote of the extraordinary situation, "It is not perhaps in the power of history to furnish a case like ours,—to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without.... 'powder' (the word was omitted for fear of his letter falling into the hands of the enemy) and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments is more than probably was ever attempted."

The question often arises in the mind of the reader of history, as to why the siege of Boston was prolonged to so great a length; why, if Gage and Howe would not fight, Washington did not? These questions were being asked all through the colonies. The same sort of questions were asked by our allies in the World War when so much time passed after our declaration of war before we sent troops. The same answer could be given to them all. It couldn't be done because America was not ready. A long preparation of the people had to be made before anything belligerent could be attempted. So with Washington. This most impetuous of generals had to sit quietly, get an army and teach it the rudiments of war; he had patiently to plan how to get rid of the army in Boston in the least costly, least heroic way possible.

Let the historian of the siege speak for himself: "Officers were slowly learning their duties; discipline was growing more firm and steady, the whole army was settling down into the habits of military life. Every

hill and projecting point from the Mystic River to Dorchester Neck had been made impregnable, stretching around Boston in a vast semicircle of redoubt and breastworks of fifteen or twenty miles in length, until at last—Knox's precious convoy of cannon and mortar arrived, and the almost priceless stores of Manley's fortunate capture transported to camp, and a moderate supply of powder gathered up—the decisive move was made."

The key to the defense of Boston was Dorchester Heights; this was recognized by both belligerents. On the night of March 2, 1776, a bombardment of sorts was ordered to begin from the battery on Lechmere's point, East Cambridge. On the next night again came the bombardment from the battery. Howe was puzzled as to what it portended; on the morning of the fifth he knew when it was too late. "Then one moonlight hazy night in March, while all along the line artillery thundered to drown the noise of the movements, three thousand men and three hundred ox-carts laden with bales of pressed hay, quietly stole across Dorchester Neck, and climbed the heights. All night while the enemy slept or wondered, the men labored. General Howe awoke to find the town, the fleet, the harbor, commanded by his adversary's guns." The lessons of the Battle of Bunker Hill had been learned and practiced; the Heights were securely held.

Washington had made his move; the next was up to Howe. What it was to be was soon seen, for the British troops were drawn up ready for a double assault upon the Heights. Washington watched the preparations unperturbed. His men cheered as he went to and fro among them. Washington turned to some near him and said, "Remember the fifth of March; avenge your brethren." It became the battle cry of the army, for the day was the anniversary of the Massacre of Boston. Howe delayed, hesitant to risk his name and fate in one action. So long did he wait that the tide went out leaving the shores impossible for landing his troops. In the night Nature took a hand, there came a great storm, and the intended attack never was made. A few days of uncertainty, a hurried embarkation of the British, and on March 17, the long siege of Boston came to an undramatic end.

There was no more war in Middlesex after the occupation of Boston. The military works erected during the siege were leveled where they interfered with the roads; the armament being carried to New York for service in the campaigns around that city. The Middlesex towns cleaned house after the departure of the soldiery and business was as usual, except that practically all the men of military age went with Washington, with whom there were many Middlesex men, until Cornwallis made his last retreat and was brought to earth in Yorktown.

True, there was great excitement during Burgoyne's advance by way

of Lake Champlain to the upper Hudson, for it was believed that Boston was his objective and that through the county would be his line of march. He surrendered at Saratoga, and all that Middlesex ever had to do with his army was to care for much of it as prisoners of war. Most of the privates were quartered in the barracks at Somerville, while Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, Riedesel and Specht were housed in Cambridge. There was some fear of trouble from these prisoners, not because there was an insufficient militia to guard them, which was true, but because by the terms of surrender all the troops were to be sent to England, and the promise had not been kept for some still unknown reason. It was apprehended that the alien army would make a concerted effort to escape, seize their artillery, which was parked in Cambridge, and inaugurate a reign of terror and bloodshed, far worse than war. It was with great relief that the citizens beheld the later removal of the captured troops to interior towns.

Massachusetts furnished for the Revolution 67,097 soldiers, or more than Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Delaware combined. She furnished more than New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined, although the population of the latter province was nearly as large as Massachusetts. Her record is one of which the Commonwealth can be truly proud. The leader in brains of the Revolution, she was also not lacking in brawn. Not only were the opening battles fought within her borders, and fought principally by her own troops, but she supplied more than any other State to the ranks of the Continental army.

Attempts were made in Massachusetts, as early as 1778, to form a government freed from the traditions and restrictions of the royal province. It was not until 1780 that a constitution was completed and ratified. The first of a long line of Governors was John Hancock, he who had been President of the Continental Congress and the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1785, he was succeeded in office by James Bowdoin.

It was upon Bowdoin that the burden rested of keeping the Commonwealth from a state of anarchy after the conclusion of the war in 1783. Peace failed to come with the cessation of hostilities with England. The State was three million pounds in debt, an enormous sum for the times. Private individuals were as badly off, for the currency had depreciated to the minus point, private credit was crushed, commerce and business had to be rebuilt, and in freeing themselves from England, many now felt they had jumped from the frying-pan into the fire. The tax collector tried to force the payment of the State charges; the individual was trying to collect his private debts in the courts. The people who had fought so magnificently for freedom were ready to barter that dearly

bought freedom for a reign of license. How they came through this dangerous crisis must be told in another chapter.

During the Revolution, Middlesex County was too busy with more important affairs to add many to the civil divisions. In 1780, Carlisle and East Sudbury (later Wayland) were established, and Boxborough celebrated the peace with England (1783) by becoming a separate district. Cambridge was the capital of the county, with Lowell still the little hamlet of East Chelmsford. Middlesex was wholly rural, none of the great industries later developed within its borders, being even in swaddling clothes. Its boundaries, however, were no longer the Pacific Ocean, for counties had been formed on all sides of its territory.

On October 27, 1789, President Washington visited the scenes of his first successes in the command of an army. His journey through the county was one long series of ovations. Curiously enough the greatest honor conferred upon him was an honorary degree from Harvard College. *Autre temps, autres mœurs!*

# CHAPTER VII

## SHAYS' REBELLION.

The Revolution ended and the Jay Peace Treaty signed, the time had come to create a national government. The total population of the thirteen States amounted to about three millions, of whom six hundred thousand were negro slaves. The principal occupation of the people was agriculture, one might almost say the only occupation. Three per cent of the population lived in cities or villages, of which the largest was Philadelphia containing less than thirty thousand. Maine was still a part of Massachusetts.

Naturally the Nation could be formed only from the States. These had all organized revolutionary governments, each having its own particular characteristics, and differing widely in form and interests. Curiously, Massachusetts had been the last to adopt a constitution, 1780, the government in the State throughout the war being carried on by the General Court, Committees of Safety, and last but not least, the town meetings.

When a constitution had been brought before the people for acceptance, Middlesex County had been opposed, and the county with Boston, were the principals in the first rejection. The trouble seems to have been that the General Court was thought to be receiving, or retaining, too much power; that there was an attempt to create ruling and ruled classes; that property qualifications deprived too many of the right to vote; and the usual one, that few sections thought they would receive their rightful representation in the State government. Perhaps the truth of the question is that Massachusetts was not democratic in doctrine or practice. Winthrop asked in 1630, "Ought we not to consider democracy as the worst of all governments, or if there be a worse, as a certain forerunner of that?" There were a number who at this time, 1780, expressed their horror of a democracy even more strongly than had Winthrop and John Cotton. Few of the political leaders of that day had any genuine faith in democracy.

**Adoption of State Constitution**—A State Constitution was eventually adopted, only about one in five of the possible voters casting a ballot. Two of the clauses in the constitution that was to lead to difficulties was one establishing a State church, the other doubling the property qualification for voting.

A second factor must be included in the conditions of the days imme-

diately after the Revolution. Massachusetts, and particularly that part of it known as Middlesex County, had profited rather than been impoverished by the struggle. After 1776 it was practically free from any ill effects of the war, actual hostilities touching relatively few in the county. Some of the men were in the Revolutionary ranks, and the towns, as towns, had expended more than their income but not large amounts. After all, aside from fishing, business had been but slightly disturbed, and in many respects improved. Agriculture had paid well. The British and French had brought large amounts of specie into the country. Money was plentiful, and the larger farmers prosperous.

**General Depression After the War**—With the close of the war, the fictitious prosperity, such as accompanies all wars, ended abruptly. Foreign ports that had been open were now closed. Fishing could be resumed but there was no place to take the fish. Farm products suddenly became unsaleable, for normally America produced far more than she could consume. What was more upsetting, was the flooding of the markets with English goods. Feeling rich these were bought heavily by those having means. For a time payments were easy. But with the supply of British and French gold cut off, the Continental paper worthless, it was but a short time before the most of the specie brought into the country from abroad had been returned there in payment for foreign goods. Specie payments had been resumed by the government in 1781, based, no doubt, on an over-estimate of the coin then in this country, thereby making matters much worse.

A severe economic depression set in. Merchants finding themselves in distress tried to liquidate by a reduction of prices, but prices dropped faster than they could sell. The farmer not only could not sell his produce, but there was no call for his labor in other spheres. The most of the farms in Middlesex were small, at least the part cultivated was such. They raised but a small surplus, and had not profited as much as the landed proprieters during the war period, hence they were the less able to stand the depression following it.

Creditors who had been generous in their terms became insistent upon payment of the debts. Mortgages were foreclosed; farms were taken from those who could not pay. Often the whole farm did not sell for enough to cover the debt, and under the law the debtor could be and was thrown into jail, preventing any possible further payment. "The gaols were filled largely with poor debtors."

To add to the burden, taxes were increased. In 1774 Massachusetts had been out of debt, and the Province rate was less than fifteen cents per capita. By 1786 her debt had risen to 1,631,789 pounds, and in addition her share in the Continental debt was 1,565,831 pounds. It was

even impossible to collect taxes enough to carry this load and pay any of the principal. In October of 1786 Rufus King, writing to John Adams about the taxes for that year, said they would not be less than a million and a half dollars, about four-fifths of which would be levied on the polls and estates that would equal about one-third of the total income of the citizens. He considered it "beyond what prudence would authorize." But "prudence" or imprudence did authorize. The per capita basis averaged about $20.00 to each household of five. "But," complained a farmer in a letter to the 'Massachusetts Centinel,' "to have the collectors call for twenty dollars taxes at a time is more money than we ever see at once." Taxes were levied on lands without relation to their quality so that taxes alone might amount to more than the value of the land, and often a farm was unsaleable at any price.

The Courts were cluttered with lawsuits. "In Concord for several years, suits for debt averaged about fifty annually, or one for every five families in town." "In Groton, from 1784 to 1786, every fourth if not every third man in town was subjected to from one to twelve suits for debt." In Worcester County in 1784-85, there were four thousand lawsuits in a population of fifty thousand, or one for every head of a family in the district. The lawyers of the day have been abused for their part in the trouble, but it was the fault of the severe and inhumane laws of which the lawyer had to aid in the enforcement. Legally everything that a man had could be seized by law, except what he happened to be wearing. Propriety would not stand for nakedness, although it was right (legally) to sell every scrap of food there might be in the house to satisfy a judgment. Failure of these forced sales to bring a sufficient amount, rendered the debtor liable to imprisonment. In 1786 the jail records of Concord show that three times as many were confined there for debt than for all other causes combined, and in Worcester County twenty times as many.

Such were the conditions following the war. A debt that had to be paid; the absence of specie for the effective carrying on of business; a great economic depression; a State constitution that had deprived many of the franchise and which had made harsh, even unjust laws which "favored the creditor rather than the debtor"; a "ruling class" and a discontented, poverty-stricken class. There were many remedies suggested for these ailments. Two stand out more prominently, the issue of paper money, and the repression of the courts so that the debtor might have time in which to pay his debts.

The easiest way seemed to create a quantity of fiat money, and to make it legal tender for taxes, as it had not been since 1781. This was the course taken by Germany after the war. It is also somewhat analogous to the free-silver campaign of 1896. It seemed such a simple

way of cutting the knot, of settling the difficulty. Rhode Island had been tempted, and had issued £100,000 in paper, which was to be loaned at four per cent on landed security of twice the value of the loan (farm land interest had risen to thirty per cent and up). The new paper was also made legal tender, and if a creditor declined to receive it, all the debtor need do was to deposit the amount of his debt with the judge of his county and his debt was forthwith wiped out. In two months the paper had so depreciated that a fine of 100 pounds was levied on any one refusing to accept it at coin value. Merchants simply had to close their stores rather than be ruined by such measures; farmers refused to bring in their products from outside. Business was stopped, and food came to be limited. Other laws were passed trying to force the use of the paper issued, but to no avail. The Superior Court gave a ruling, that in intent though not in wording, said that paper could not be forced on unwilling takers. After much confusion, this legal tender act of 1786 was repealed in 1789.

The legislature of Massachusetts was too conservative to be led into passing such laws as those of Rhode Island. Neither would they pass any that would help the situation, rather the enforcement of present laws was insisted upon, or more severe ones passed. Taxes were imposed, the poor suffered, the courts continued to enforce the payment of debts in hard cash, mortgages were foreclosed and the unlucky debtor sent to jail. A crisis was impending.

The people left to themselves turned naturally to means that had been used in the greater crisis which had its climax in the Revolution. The disaffected, as on the previous occasion, turned to the "town meeting" for expression. If the Legislature would not look after them, then they would look out for themselves. If it had been right to rebel against Britain, why not against any in authority who wanted to do what England had tried to do? A people just through with a successful revolution knew of no better method of gaining their end than to rebel. It was a method that failed to suit the very leaders in the Revolution, one of the greatest opponents being John Adams.

The Legislature would not help, there was no reform legislation. Instead, the taxes not collected for one year were added to the next, and those of the later year increased. Alexander Hamilton, who at least can be suspected of no radical tendencies wrote that, "if the representatives of the People betray their constituents, there is then no resource left but in the original right of self defense" and "the citizens must rush tumultuously to arms, without arms, without concert, without system, without resource; except in their courage and despair." John Truslow Adams adds, in his recently published history, "If a man like Hamilton could voice such sentiments, is it any wonder that the farmers

and artisans of remote agricultural districts and small towns, faced by a recalcitrant legislature and an obstinate group of reactionary leaders, and without organized parties to espouse their cause, could find no recourse save in armed action?"

**Town Meetings**—The initial effort was by way of the town meeting, a perfectly legal form of procedure. All over the State, particularly in the middle and western part, such meetings were held. One held in Groton in June, 1786, was typical of many of the others. The "meeting" chose, as they had in pre-Revolutionary times, a committee who were to meet those of other towns and express their opinions and endeavor to get concerted action. Some of the desires expressed at the meeting were: "the removal of the Legislature from Boston; to limit the numbers of attorneys to one for each county; to stop all lawsuits until money was more plentiful; to issue paper money to pay foreign and domestic debts; to provide that temporarily no distress be made for debts and taxes; to pay interest to the holders of public securities not on their par value but only on the price the holder had paid; and to "see that there is no more Infringements made on our Injured Rights and privileges." In the same month began the series of county conventions which were a notable feature of the peaceable side of the "Rebellion," several hundred towns holding such meetings.

On August 22, a convention of fifty towns of Hampshire County met at Hatfield, the expression of which will be given for purposes of comparison with that of Groton. The two give a very fair notion of the ideas of the revolting throng. According to J. T. Adams, among the grievances complained of were: the existence of the State Senate; the method of representation; the Court of Common Pleas, lawyers and high fees; the sitting of the State Legislature at Boston; the mode of taxation and of paying of the State debt; the unequal incidence of taxation; the lack of a circulating medium. It was voted that the representatives of all the towns in the county be instructed to vote for an issue of paper money, to be legal tender and to be exchanged for the State debt. It was further resolved, that the constitution be revised, that the legislature should meet at once to consider grievances, and that the people should abstain from all mobbing and unlawful bodies. As the "conventions" were continuing bodies, it was also agreed that copies should be sent to those of other counties. The following day a convention of delegates from a majority of the towns in Middlesex County met at Concord and voiced a number of the same grievances as had the other conventions. In addition, a complaint was made of 'taking men's bodies for debt, and confining them in jail, when they possess property sufficient to answer the demands of the creditors';

of the accounts of the United States with Massachusetts remaining unsettled; of the method of choosing jurors. Loyalty to the constitution was proclaimed, and mobbing discountenanced."

There is no question that the people were thoroughly aroused, and the revolutionary sentiment widespread. It was not only in Massachusetts but in all the neighboring States that demands were being made. General Knox, the Secretary of War, writing to Washington, stated that the number of insurgents amounted to "One-fifth of several populous counties," and the number of those in sympathy with the movement in the western part of the State has been placed at a much higher ratio. Some estimate that at the height of the "Rebellion" one-third of the people were active belligerents, one-third in sympathy with them and ready to go to their side if victorious, the remaining third being conservatives. Not only was the stability of the State endangered, but the foundations of the United States. Shays' Rebellion was, in fact, the first serious obstacle placed in the pathway of this country on its progress towards a permanent government.

The failure of the Legislature to act on the grievances indited by the conventions, was met by a different mode of action. The town meetings had been legal, and had confined themselves to legal measures. Lacking attention by the authorities that were, public opinion expressed itself in armed obstruction of the courts. The outbreak came at Northampton on August twenty-ninth, when a mob of fifteen hundred seized the court house and prevented the judges from sitting. Seemingly, only about a quarter of the crowd was armed with anything that could be shot. Authorities agree that the conduct of the mob, which continued around the court house until after midnight, was good, with "less insolence and violence, and with more sobriety and good order than is generally expected from such a miscellaneous crowd bent on an unlawful errand."

**Attacking the Court**—Fearing a repetition of this act when the court should meet at Dorcester on September 5, Governor Bowdoin issued a proclamation calling on all citizens, soldiers and officers to oppose all outbreaks of this character. He also ordered Major-General Warner, commander of the county militia to give aid, but most of his troops refused to act, and those that were willing seemed more ready to give aid to the insurgents than to the Governor. Bowdoin also issued a call for a meeting of the Legislature, but put the date for October 18. This was rather late, and, although he later changed this to a month earlier, he was still too late. The insurrection had gotten out of control and the later action of the Legislature did little but add fuel to the fire already lighted. The rebels were successful at Worcester, and at Great

Barrington a few days later. The Governor decided to send troops to protect the court at Concord, but two of the judges who were to sit there advised more lenient measures had better be taken, for the "people were very much excited." Unwisely, as it proved, the Governor took the advice, and there was a collision between the court and belligerents in which the latter were successful.

Because the clash at Concord was so close to the seat of the State government, thereby arousing the conservative element, and because it was the principal action of Shays' Rebellion occurring in Middlesex County, an account of it will be given more in detail than its importance might seem to demand.

After the mob had attacked the court at Worcester in September, the town of Concord, where court was then being held, began to fear that the rebels might come there and stop court proceedings. A meeting was held at which a sufficient number were gotten together to order a letter sent to the neighboring towns to join with a Concord committee to mediate between the two bodies, and by moral suasion prevent conflict. Evidently there was little response to this note and three days after its issue three companies of insurgents marched into Concord to suppress the court. The attempt at moral suasion by the Concord committee failed.

The head of this new insurrection in Middlesex County was Job Shattuck of Groton, assisted by Sylvanus and Nathan Smith of Shirley and Peter Butterfield of Townsend, all of whom had been officers in the War of Independence, and Shattuck was also a veteran of the French War, all of them well qualified to lead. They met with little resistance, and the crowd seems to have lost their head a bit and acted somewhat insolently in their words with the judges and lawyers. They were soon joined by about a hundred from Worcester, and the mob now numbering 300 became more orderly. Plans were under way to go to Cambridge to stop the court soon to be held there, but a badly organized mob is somewhat slow to come to decisions or to make proper preparations.

**Militia Called**—To prevent further trouble and to quench what fire there was, the Governor ordered the militia to be in readiness to march to Cambridge, and also issued "warrants for apprehending the head men of the insurgents of Middlesex, for the imprisoning them without bail or mainprise." A company was ordered from Boston to assist the sheriff in the capture of Shattuck and his officers, which, on their arrival, were joined by a company of mounted men from Groton. The combined forces surprised and captured Oliver Parker and Benjamin Page, but Shattuck escaped. "Under this disappointment, at midnight, in the midst of a violent storm, the whole party was ordered to Shattuck's

house in Groton, where they did not arrive until morning. A search was immediately made, and judicious pursuit discovered him in a party of a few persons led by Colonel Woods of Groton himself. Shattuck obstinately resisted, and was not taken until he had received several wounds, which he returned without much injury." The most of those involved in the affair eluded capture.

The Supreme Court was to meet at Springfield on September 29, and Major-General William Shepard was collecting militia forces to protect it. So far the efforts of the belligerents had been to prevent the hearing of debt cases by the courts. Now that so many were committed by overt acts against the State, they feared indictments in the Supreme Court, and determined to close it for their safety. The "rebels" to the number of about eight hundred, faced a like number of militia, and the former passed resolutions that the court deal with all criminal cases, except the indictment of the insurgents by the grand jury, that judgments in civil cases be suspended, and that the militia be disbanded. It was agreed that the court would adjourn, and both militia and insurgents should disband.

The insurrecto movement from now on settled permanently in the western part of the State. Suffolk County had shown but little sympathy with the movement, and Boston was definitely opposed. Middlesex had been somewhat aroused, but as we have seen, was dependent upon the coöperation, and in a measure, the leadership of sections farther west. Worcester was one of the centers, but it was the river town and Berkshire that showed the greatest violence. These latter were thoroughly logical in seeing that since the evils they wished corrected could not be done so by legal methods, un-legal ones must be used and they were extremely outspoken in their advocacy of such means.

Daniel Shays, one of the ring-leaders in the insurrection, and whose name was ever afterwards given to the "Rebellion," came to the fore at the Springfield affair. Luke Day of West Springfield, closely associated with Shays, was as conspicuous, but not as strong. He was a leader, but rather the orator than the fighter, although both men had served creditably as officers during the Revolution. A popular speaker, he had gathered quite a few adherents about him at his home. These he drilled on the common; they also provided an audience for his numerous speeches. It needed but the coming of such a man as Shays to give coherence to the motley forces which were marching and talking, but doing little else. Holland takes rather a different view of the relative ability of the two men, for in comparing them he says: "It was more the result of accident than any other cause that Shays had the precedence and the fortune to make his name infamous by association

with the rebellion in which he was engaged. Day was the stronger man, in mind and will, the equal in military skill, and his superior in the gift of speech." It seems likely, however, that those on the spot were the better judges of the relative ability of the two men, and while the orator was dearly beloved in those early days, and credited with a wisdom that often he failed to possess, the people recognized Shays as the leader and gave his name to the rebellion.

Shays was of Irish descent, a native of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, born in 1747, on Saddle Hill. Trumbull, quoting from the Judd MSS now in the Forbes Library, gives an account of him as supplied by Judge Hinckley, who was living at Northampton at the time of the rebellion. He makes overmuch of the Lafayette sword incident, and was apparently opposed to the Shays movement, but his account which follows is the most complete extant, really very little being known about the leader of the Rebellion:

> Shays and a man named Cutler (afterward Gen. Cutler) lived as hired men with Mr. Hinckley's father at Brookfield for two years preceding the Revolutionary War. Both men were smart, active men, and received £16 ($53.33) per annum, when the common price was £15 ($50). Shays had much taste for the military, and the boys were in the habit of assembling with wooden guns and swords, and Shays would exercise them. Mr. Hinckley had often marched in that company. When the company of minute men was formed in 1774, Rufus Putnam was captain, and Shays and Cutler were sergeants. They had no bells and no cannon in Brookfield, and all alarms were given by conch shells. The day after the battle of Lexington the shells were sounded, and Captain Putnam's company soon marched. Captain Putnam was speedily promoted to the rank of major, and Shays and Cutler became officers in a short time. Shays continued in the army till 1780, when he had the rank of Lieutenant. When Lafayette came over he brought a large number of elegant swords which he gave to the subordinate officers of the army. Shays received one of them, but as he had a good one already he sold the one given him by Lafayette. This excited the indignation of his company and of the officers of his regiment, and an outcry was made about his meanness in selling the gift of Lafayette. The officers refused to associate with him, and talked about trying him by Court-Martial for his base conduct. He resigned and came home much incensed against the other officers and even against Washington. He was a disappointed man. The people of Brookfield censured him, and even his father-in-law, Capt. Daniel Gilbert, whose daughter he married after the war commenced, blamed him, and made severe remarks about his selling the sword. He remained in Brookfield a few years and then removed to Pelham.
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> On election day, in May, 1786, Colonel Porter's regiment met in Hadley and Shays appeared at the head of the Pelham company. His activity and officer "like appearance excited admiration, and were the subjects of much conversation. ("History of Northampton," Vol. II, p. 492.)

Shays is said to have "been conspicuous for bravery at Bunker Hill and Stony Point and present at the surrender of Burgoyne." Hallowell, himself a member of Rufus Putnam's regiment speaks of Shays

as being in the same regiment, "in three years service and respected as a very good officer, and was very good to his men."

**Attempts to End Rebellion**—In Shays' first action as a leader at Springfield, he had been successful, but it had also aroused the State and, for that matter, the Nation. George Washington was particularly exercised by the course of affairs in the New England States. The Governor of Massachusetts on September 27 sternly denounced the belligerents. The Senate attempted to take measures to end the rebellion and punish the leaders. But the House had in it too many in sympathy with the insurgents, and nothing was done. Meanwhile the Court sat at Cambridge under heavy militia protection.

Shays boldly attempted to arouse the Hampshire towns to greater activity, by sending a letter requesting them "to assemble your men together to see that they are all armed and equipped, with sixty rounds to each man, and be ready to turn out at a minute's notice, likewise to be properly organized with officers. Daniel Shays." The counter move of the State was to order the gathering of the militia from the eastern counties, of which Middlesex was to furnish 1200 men. The records of the towns of Middlesex show that the desired number were furnished readily enough, showing, perhaps, that the people as a whole were of the opinion that mob measures were not the best to bring about the relief desired.

Shays made his headquarters in Worcester. His troops were so badly armed as to make him turn covetous eyes on the Arsenal at Springfield. As General Shepard put it in his warning sent to the Governor in December, "the insurgents are in a desperate condition, they must either carry their point or lose their lives. They will, no doubt, adopt the most desperate measures to defend and support themselves. I am surprised that they have not seized the arsenal long before this time and erected their standard at Springfield." Shepard had already made application to the Government to use the arms in the arsenal to equip the militia, but the request had been denied.

General Lincoln was appointed to the command of the militia forces amounting to more than four thousand. Few better men for the position could have been secured, for he was a humane man, just but fair, cool headed, and with a military record that forced respect even from the wildest belligerent. How this expedition was financed is still one of the puzzles yet unsolved, at least the *reason* for the giving of the money by Boston men has had many interpretations. The Legislature had nothing, not even enough to pay its own way. One authority states that "some noble and broad-minded citizens of Boston, from a conviction of the necessity of the government, voluntarily offered a loan to support

the public cause." Another says that Lincoln went before certain Boston men, and told them frankly that if they didn't support the militia with funds, they would soon have no means, for the insurgents would come and take their money away from them. It was a case of give a part or lose it all. At any rate the army was financed by a loan which was paid by the next Legislature.

**Plans to Seize the Arsenal**—Two plans were considered by the leaders of the rebellion: either they could attack Boston and release Shattuck, Parker and Page who had been taken in the Concord affair; or they could go to Springfield and seize the arsenal. The latter plan was chosen. Meanwhile Lincoln had received orders from the National government to protect the arsenal. The names of the ring-leaders of the insurgents were posted as "dangerous to the Commonwealth, its peace and safety," and warrants for their arrest issued by the Governor.

There were now five bodies of the combatants under arms: General Shepard was at Springfield with 1200; General Lincoln was on his way with 3,000 from Middlesex; Shays, with 1200 men, was coming from Rutland; Eli Parsons had 400 from Berkshire; and Luke Day, with 400 men held West Springfield. Shays planned to attack the arsenal on January 25, 1787, and ordered Day to assist. Day seems to have objected to this date and sent a messenger putting the affray off a day. The messenger got drunk and his message was taken from him by sympathizers with the conservatives. Shays, unwarned of his lieutenant's intentions, marched down the Boston Road to Springfield, and made his attack. The official report of the skirmish, sent by General Shepard to Governor Bowdoin, is characterized by James Russell Trumbull as the "Best description of the fight that has come to hand." It is here given as taken from the Massachusetts Archives, Vol 190, p. 137:

Springfield, January 26, 1787.

Sir—The unhappy time has come in which we have been obliged to shed blood. Shays, who was at the head of about twelve hundred men, marched yesterday afternoon about 4 o'clock toward the public buildings in battle array. He marched his men in an open column by platoons. I sent several times by one of my aids and two other gentlemen, Capts. Buffington and Woodbridge, to him to know what he was after or what he wanted. His reply was he "wanted barracks, barracks he would have and stores." The answer was he "must purchase them dear if he had them."

He still proceeded on his march until he approached within 250 yards of the arsenal. He then made a halt. I immediately sent Maj. Lyman, one of my aids, and Capt. Buffington to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal on his peril as I was stationed here by order of your excellency and the secretary-at-war for the defense of the public property; in case he did, I should surely fire on him and his men. A Mr. Wheeler who appeared to be one of Shays' aids, met Mr. Lyman after he had delivered my orders in the most peremptory manner and made answer that that was all he wanted. Shays immediately put his troops in

motion and marched down rapidly near one hundred yards. I then ordered Maj. Stevens who commanded the artillery to fire upon them; he accordingly did. The two first shot he endeavored to overshoot them in the hope they would have taken warning without firing among them, but it had no effect on them. Maj. Stevens then directed his shot through the center of the column. The fourth or fifth shot put the column into the utmost confusion. Shays made an attempt to deploy his column but in vain. We had one howit which was loaded with grapeshot, which when fired gave them great uneasiness. Had I been disposed to destroy them, I might have charged upon their rear flank with my infantry and the two field pieces and could have killed the greater part of the whole army within twenty-five minutes. There was not a single musket on either side.

I found three men dead on the spot, and one wounded who is since dead. One of our artillerymen by inattention was seriously wounded. Three muskets were taken up with the dead which were all deeply loaded. I enclose to your excellency a copy of a paper sent to me last evening.

I have received no reinforcements yet, and expect to be attacked this day by their whole force combined.

I am, sir, with great respect, your excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

WM. SHEPARD.

His excellency, James Bowdoin, Esq.

**Shays' Surrender**—Before the insurrectionists could gather themselves together or the delaying Day could join Shays, Lincoln arrived with his troops. Realizing the necessity for haste, he crossed the river on the ice and routed Day's forces. Shays retreated through South Hadley to Amherst pursued by Shepard. The rebellion was so nearly crushed that the Middlesex militia, now numbering 2,000 were allowed to return home. Day after day more of the rebels were captured. General Lincoln sent a letter to Shays and his men commanding them to lay down their arms. "To prevent further bloodshed, you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms, surrender themselves to the government, and take and subscribe to the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy." Shays' reply was to the effect that although they still felt in the right, "At the same time the people are willing to lay down their arms, on the condition of a general pardon... but let each army occupy the post where now they are" until the matter was settled.

Lincoln refused an armistice and drove the disorderly mob before him into Pelham. There Shays made a brief stand, and again asked for a general pardon for his followers if they should surrender. This was addressed to the General Court, and that body, brave in the fact that the situation was now under control, met with an abrupt refusal. Shays withdrew his men to the hills of Petersham; it was the dead of winter and bitterly cold, but Lincoln promptly followed and made a surprise attack. The strenuous effort was eminently successful and scattered the forces of Shays so that never again were they reformed.

Three days later Shays at Winchester, Vermont, had only 300 of his followers left from the original 1500.

General Lincoln's account of the fight says, after describing the hardship of the march: "We approached this town nearly in the center where Shays had covered his men; and had he not been prevented by the steepness of the hill and the depth of the snow from throwing our men rapidly into it, we should have arrested very probably one half of his force, for they were so nearly surprised as it was, that they had no time to call in their parties or even their guards. About 150 fell into our hands and some escaped only by the most precipitous flight in different directions; but most of their men fled to Athol."

There now followed only small isolated groups in opposition to the government. There was still hostility, a hostility that was widespread, and the Legislature was very careful not to do anything that would further arouse ill-feeling or tend to combine the separated insurgents. Every inducement was made to encourage the laying aside of arms, and to declare allegiance to the Commonwealth. Many accepted the terms of the indemnity. The leaders were left outside the pale, being absolutely proscribed. Even General Lincoln protested against the "excessive severity of the Legislature" in dealing with the heads and other principals of the Rebellion. Samuel Adams, then President of the Senate, was most strenuous in his objections to the showing of any clemency. Said he in one of his pleas: "In Monarchies the crime of treason and rebellion may admit of being pardoned and lightly punished; but the man who rebels against the laws of a republic ought to die." It is quite remarkable how some of the arch rebels of the Revolution could be so extreme when there was rebellion against the authority of which they were representatives.

**Shays' Flight**—Shays fled the State and region. Reports of his presence came in from various parts. The Governors of other States were asked to coöperate in the capture of him, and of the groups of rebels that moved from State to State and easily eluded capture. Easement in punishment was also promised by the Commonwealth. Many of the insurgents had been captured and jailed under all sorts of accusations. So fearful was the government of the freeing of the prisoners by juries who might have on them those who had taken part in the rebellion, that even the suspicion of friendship to the rebels was enough to have such persons removed. But so widespread had been the movement, there were many places in which a jury free from suspicion was impossible to find. A commission of three was appointed, therefore, who were to act as judge and jury in the settlement of the punishment of the offenders. Four were excepted from the scope of this commission, Shays, Wheeler, Parsons and Luke Day, together with all who had

killed or fired upon others, the commander of any such party, the members of a rebel council of war, and any unliberated prisoners against whom the Governor and Council had issued warrants. The clemency of the authorities was somewhat greater than the laws of the time would indicate. Few suffered any great punishment, some were even led to the scaffold and then reprieved.

There is a little school-book published in 1807 by Hannah Adams, entitled "Abridgment of History of New England" which has summed up the close of Shays' Rebellion. It says: "The spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the prudent firmness of General Lincoln drove the leaders from the State and restored tranquillity. Even the leaders who were held responsible afterwards petitioned for and obtained pardon on the condition that they should never accept or hold any office civil or military under the Commonwealth. These events were overruled for the great national good. For, from obvious defects in the Articles of Confederation, the people were induced to see the necessity of establishing a form of government equal to the exigencies of the Union."

Aside from the truth expressed in the last sentence, "the necessity of establishing a form of government" suitable to the needs of the time and country at large, the Shays' Rebellion must be considered as little more than a tempest in a tea pot. It was started to remedy very real and pressing evils. In the beginning regular and legal methods were taken to secure a cure. The opposition of the conservatives was partisan, almost blind in its prejudices at times. And it is very certain that the legally constituted authorities failed to take any effective measure to assuage the conditions which so grieved and angered the greater part of the people of Massachusetts. After the rebellion, when a supposedly radical Legislature had been elected, with Governor Hancock elected because of his supposed favorable attitude toward the changes sought by the insurgents, the Legislature promptly ignored the radical desires of the dissatisfied citizenship which had elected it. It failed to repeal the previous hated acts; "it astonished the public and disappointed many of its constituents by ratifying and repeating previous actions. It condemned the issue of paper money, continued the tender act and coercive measures against insurgents, and voted supplies for the troops still in the field." According to Holland, "such a rebuke to the prejudices of a popular constituency has no parallel in the legislation of a State."

Daniel Shays, leader of the unsuccessful rebellion, ended his days in peace September 25, 1825, at the ripe age of eighty-five. Only a few years ago the little slate marker that heads his grave was found at Sparta, Livingston County, New York.

# CHAPTER VIII

## COUNTY OFFICIAL RECORD AND PERSONNEL.

Middlesex County covers an area of more than eight hundred square miles. While it is of reasonably compact shape, it is unfortunate, because of the manner of its settlement, in having had the bulk of its early population situated in one corner. For some years one court-house was sufficient for its needs, but a growing distaste of a few of its inhabitants to travel long distances to transact their county and legal business, led to the establishment of others. Cambridge as one of the first settled towns in Middlesex, or the district made into that county, became the first seat of its courts. On March 6, 1635-6, Ipswich, Salem, Boston, and Cambridge were named as places in which the courts of the Province should be held. When the County of Middlesex was organized in 1643, Cambridge carried over as the shire-town. A court-house was evidently built at some unknown time, as least one was burned in 1671. Little is really known about these first houses before the erection of a court-house on Harvard Square in 1708 (another was built on this site in 1757). For a brief period under Governor Andros, Cambridge was displaced and Charlestown made the county-seat, the records having been removed there by the orders of Andros. The latter was unseated by the "Revolution of 1688," and immediate efforts were made to have the records returned to their former home. It was not, however, until 1717 that such return was brought about. For the next century, lacking one year, Cambridge was undisturbed as the eastern shire-town. In 1813, a land company, known as the Lechmore Point Corporation, wishing to exploit its properties, offered to give land in what is now East Cambridge, and build a court-house and jail at an expense not to exceed $24,000, if the county-seat were established in this place. The offer was accepted by the Court of Sessions, the promised buildings erected, and East Cambridge became the shire-town in 1816.

**Concord**—Concord was the central county seat of the courts as early as 1692. Until 1719, court was held in the First Parish Church, but in that year, and in 1794, special structures were provided for the sessions. Concord prospered greatly as a shire-town, and had visions of becoming the seat of the State government after the Revolutionary War. It was, indeed, a genuine rival of Boston for this honor. As a shire-town it was secondary to Cambridge, which suited Concord not at all. An attempt

was made under the leadership of the latter-mentioned town to form a new county in 1732 with Concord as shire. This was to include the towns of Concord, Sudbury, Framingham, Marlborough, Groton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Stow, Littleton, Bedford, Dunstable, Westford, Dracut and Northtown. The effort failed, and in 1867 Concord lost even the secondary honor when her courts were transferred to Cambridge.

At the present time there are two shire towns, Cambridge and Lowell, the latter receiving its appointment April 16, 1836. It was conditioned on the building of a court-house and jail at an expense of at least $10,000 before March, 1837. Lowell failed in this, but the unfinished building was taken over by a commission, to which the city also paid $10,000. Until 1855 no registry of deeds was established at Lowell. On March 24, 1855, the Northern Registry District of Middlesex County was formed consisting of Lowell, Dunstable, Tyngsboro, Dracut, Tewksbury, Billerica, Chelmsford, Carlisle, Wilmington and Westford.

Population of Cities and Towns—Attention has been drawn to the fact that Middlesex County is large, 800 square miles. Much of its territory is relatively well populated. In the eastern section, land values have increased greatly during the present century, since much of that part of Middlesex is one large suburb of Boston, and often called Metropolitan Boston, or Greater Boston. Instead of being, as in the early days, a strongly agricultural section, it is strongly residential, and manufacturing has attained great prominence. Farming is still an important industry in the western section of the county, except for the clustering of factories around Marlborough, Framingham and Hudson, and about the great manufacturing center at Lowell. The following is a list of the cities and towns of Middlesex, with their populations, voters, and valuations in recent years:

| Towns | Population (1920) | Registered Voters (1924) | Valuation (1925) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acton | 2,162 | 1,053 | $3,173,472 |
| Arlington | 18,665 | 9,309 | 41,875,036 |
| Ashby | 834 | 298 | 1,390,750 |
| Ashland | 2,287 | 947 | 3,186,477 |
| Ayer | 3,052 | 1,265 | 3,926,889 |
| Bedford | 1,362 | 727 | 3,124,546 |
| Belmont | 10,749 | 5,838 | 25,077,267 |
| Billerica | 3,646 | 2,024 | 10,208,026 |
| Boxborough | 298 | 141 | 362,495 |
| Burlington | 885 | 456 | 1,886,339 |
| Cambridge | 109,694 | 37,113 | 204,067,353 |
| Carlisle | 463 | 215 | 674,996 |
| Chelmsford | 5,682 | 2,640 | 10,985,095 |
| Concord | 6,461 | 2,767 | 9,459,346 |
| Dracut | 5,280 | 1,748 | 6,067,607 |

| Towns | Population (1920) | Registered Voters (1924) | Valuation (1925) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dunstable | 353 | 161 | 699,842 |
| Everett | 40,120 | 13,406 | 63,574,863 |
| Framingham | 17,033 | 6,837 | 37,175,901 |
| Groton | 2,185 | 1,056 | 4,447,869 |
| Holliston | 2,707 | 1,425 | 3,947,394 |
| Hopkinton | 2,289 | 1,195 | 3,014,170 |
| Hudson | 7,607 | 3,116 | 9,257,282 |
| Lexington | 6,350 | 2,999 | 14,822,321 |
| Lincoln | 1,042 | 568 | 3,526,502 |
| Littleton | 1,277 | 616 | 2,133,413 |
| Lowell | 112,759 | 36,359 | 195,384,607 |
| Malden | 49,103 | 17,774 | 62,564,379 |
| Marlborough | 15,028 | 6,972 | 20,771,378 |
| Maynard | 7,086 | 2,167 | 10,575,309 |
| Medford | 39,038 | 17,187 | 58,184,383 |
| Melrose | 18,204 | 9,093 | 30,199,728 |
| Natick | 10,907 | 5,610 | 13,101,763 |
| Newton | 46,054 | 22,762 | 126,955,555 |
| North Reading | 1,286 | 629 | 2,066,155 |
| Pepperell | 2,468 | 1,149 | 4,458,867 |
| Reading | 7,439 | 3,700 | 13,901,987 |
| Sherborn | 1,558 | 657 | 1,823,152 |
| Shirley | 2,260 | 654 | 3,111,106 |
| Somerville | 93,091 | 35,303 | 115,116,241 |
| Stoneham | 7,873 | 3,972 | 10,931,340 |
| Stow | 1,101 | 515 | 2,085,756 |
| Sudbury | 1,121 | 535 | 2,458,508 |
| Tewksbury | 4,450 | 775 | 3,700,665 |
| Townsend | 1,575 | 730 | 2,804,017 |
| Tyngsborough | 1,044 | 431 | 1,419,519 |
| Wakefield | 13,025 | 5,581 | 22,134,701 |
| Waltham | 30,915 | 12,191 | 56,311,341 |
| Watertown | 21,457 | 9,143 | 45,945,293 |
| Wayland | 1,935 | 1,204 | 4,896,916 |
| Westford | 3,170 | 1,024 | 6,106,147 |
| Weston | 2,282 | 1,201 | 8,736,657 |
| Wilmington | 2,581 | 1,150 | 3,194,128 |
| Winchester | 10,485 | 5,026 | 27,581,674 |
| Woburn | 16,574 | 7,971 | 22,192,645 |
| Totals | 778,352 | 309,385 | $1,346,779,168 |

**Date of Incorporation**—When Governor Winthrop was sent from England in 1629, with him came nineteen men chosen as "Assistants." Until 1639 the whole judicial power of the Colony rested with these assistants. In this year realizing that the work was too great for these few men, court duties were delegated to others, and eight courts established. The next step was taken on May 10, 1643, when it was enacted "that the whole plantation within this jurisdiction is divided into four

shires" or counties. The towns comprising Middlesex County, and the dates of their founding or incorporation are:

Charlestown, June 24, 1629; Cambridge, September 8, 1633; Watertown, September 7, 1630; Sudbury, September 4, 1639; Concord, September 2, 1635; Woburn, May 18, 1642; Medford, September 28, 1630; Linn Village, which was incorporated as Reading after the county was formed, May 29, 1684. Of these, Charlestown was incorporated as a city February 22, 1847, and annexed to Boston May 14, 1873; and Cambridge was incorporated as a city March 17, 1846.

The towns added later are: Acton was incorporated July 3, 1735; Arlington, February 27, 1807 (name changed from West Cambridge, April 30, 1867); Ashby, March 5, 1767; Ashland, March 16, 1846; Ayer, February 14, 1871; Bedford, September 23, 1729; Belmont, March 18, 1859; Billerica, May 29, 1655; Boxborough, February 25, 1783; Brighton, February 24, 1807; Burlington, February 28, 1799; Carlisle, April 28, 1780; Chelmsford, May 29, 1655; Dracut, February 26, 1701; Dunstable, October 15, 1673; East Sudbury, April 10, 1780 (name changed to Wayland, March 11, 1835); Everett, March 9, 1870; Framingham, June 25, 1700; Groton, May 25, 1655; Holliston, December 3, 1724; Hopkinton, December 13, 1715; Hudson, March 19, 1866; Lexington, March 29, 1712; Lincoln, April 19, 1754; Littleton, November 2, 1714; Lowell as a town, March 1, 1826 (as a city, August 5, 1836); Malden, as a town, May 2, 1649 (as a city, March 31, 1881); Marlborough, May 31, 1660; Maynard, April 19, 1871; Melrose, May 3, 1850; Natick as a district in 1762 (as a town February 10, 1781); Newton as a town, January 11, 1688 (as a city, June 2, 1873); North Reading, March 22, 1853; Pepperell, April 6, 1753; Sherborn, May 27, 1764; Shirley, January 5, 1753; Somerville as a town, March 3, 1842 (as a city, April 14, 1871); South Reading, February 25, 1812 (name changed to Wakefield, June 30, 1868); Stoneham, December 17, 1725; Stow, May 16, 1683; Tewksbury, December 23, 1734; Townsend, June 29, 1732; Tyngsborough as a district, June 22, 1789 (as a town, February 23, 1809); Waltham as a town, January 4, 1737 (as a city, June 2, 1884); Wayland, April 10, 1780; Westford, September 23, 1729; Weston, January 1, 1712; Wilmington, September 25, 1730; Winchester, April 30, 1850.

The town of Acton contains a part of Concord; Arlington of Cambridge; Ashby of Townsend, Fitchburg and Ashburnham; Ashland of Hopkinton, Framingham and Holliston; Ayer of Groton and Shirley; Bedford of Billerica and Concord; Belmont of Arlington, Watertown and Waltham; Boxborough of Stow, Harvard and Littleton; Brighton of Cambridge; Burlington of Woburn. Cambridge has had annexed to it parts of Charlestown and Watertown; Carlisle of Concord, Acton, Chelmsford and Billerica. Charlestown has had annexed to it part of Medford; Dunstable of Groton; Everett of Malden; Framingham of Holliston; Groton of Pepperell; Holliston of Sherborn; Hudson of Marlboro', Bolton and Stow; Lexington of Cambridge and Burlington; Lincoln of Concord, Lexington and Weston; Lowell of Chelmsford, Tewksbury and Dracut; Malden of Medford; Marlborough of Framingham and Southborough; Maynard of Stow and Sudbury; Medford of Malden and Everett; Melrose of Malden and Stoneham; Natick of Sherborn; Newton part of Boston; North Reading of Reading; Pepperell of Groton; Shirley of Groton; Somerville of Charlestown; Stoneham of Charlestown; Tewksbury of Billerica; Tyngsborough of Dunstable; Wakefield of Reading; Waltham of Watertown and Newton; Wayland of Sudbury; Westford of Chelmsford; Weston of Watertown; Wilmington of Woburn and Reading; Winchester of Woburn, Medford and West Cambridge.

**Counties Re-apportioned**—Since the incorporation of the county the following changes in the county lines have been made: The incorporation of Ashby, March 5, 1767, took a portion of Ashburnham and Fitchburg, in Worcester County; the incorporation of Boxborough, February 25, 1783, took a portion of Harvard, in Worcester County. The annexation of Charlestown to Boston, May 14, 1873, and the annexation of Brighton to Boston, May 21, 1873, added those places to Suffolk County; the incorporation of Harvard, in Worcester County, gave a portion of Groton and Stow to Worcester; a part of Holliston was annexed to Milford, in Worcester County, April 1, 1859; the incorporation of Upton, in Worcester County, June 14, 1735, gave a part of Hopkinton to Worcester; the incorporation of Bolton, June 24, 1738, Northborough, January 24, 1766, and Southborough, July 6, 1727, gave a part of Marlborough to Worcester. There were some definitions of town boundaries which may have slightly changed the county lines. These were the lines between Holliston, Hopkinton and Medway, March 27, 1835; between Natick and Wayland, April 20, 1850; between North Reading and Lynnfield, May 27, 1857; between Wakefield and Lynnfield, April 2, 1870.

**County Officials**—The following outline of the laws under which a county is governed, and the lists of early holders of offices is taken almost verbatim from the writings of William T. Davis, whose voluminous works in the history of Middlesex County are such a valuable source of information to the student in that field.

Although the Provincial charter conferred the jurisdiction of Probate affairs on the Governor and Council, they claimed and exercised the right to delegate their powers to judges and registers of Probate in the several counties. There was no regular Probate Court established by law until March 12, 1784, when it was provided that a judge and register should be appointed by the Governor and Council. Under an amendment of the Constitution ratified by the people on the 23d of May, 1855, it was provided that at the annual election in 1856, and in every fifth year thereafter, the register should be chosen by the people for a term of five years. The judge remained as the appointee of the Governor. In 1856 a Court of Insolvency in each county was established by law, with a judge and register, and in 1858 the judge and register of this court were abolished, as well as the judge and register of Probate, and the offices of judge and register of Probate and Insolvency were created. In the same year, 1858, it was provided that the Register of Probate and Insolvency should be chosen at the annual election in that year and every fifth year afterwards for a term of five years.

**Judicial Officers Since 1692**—The following persons have filled the

offices of judge and register of Probate, judge and register of Insolvency, and judge and register of Probate and Insolvency since the union of the Colonies, in 1692:

Judges of Probate:—James Russell, appointed June 18, 1692; John Leverett, appointed October 23, 1702; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 8, 1708; Jonathan Remington, appointed September 30, 1725; Samuel Danforth, appointed December 20, 1745; John Winthrop, appointed September 6, 1775; Oliver Prescott, appointed about July, 1779; James Prescott, appointed February 1, 1805; Samuel Phillips, Prescott Fay, appointed May 9, 1821; William Adams Richardson, appointed April 7, 1856, and held until July 1, 1858; Luther J. Fletcher, appointed judge of Insolvency, 1857; William Adams Richardson, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency May 13, 1858, to take office July 1, 1858; George M. Brooks, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency, 1872-1893; Charles John McIntire, 1893; George Field Lawton, 1894.

Registers of Probate:—Samuel Phipps, appointed June 18, 1692; Thomas Swan, appointed October 23, 1702; Nicholas Fessenden, appointed September 15, 1705; Daniel Foxcroft, appointed December 28, 1709; Thomas Foxcroft, appointed December 9, 1715; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 3, 1729; Samuel Danforth, appointed July 9, 1731; Andrew Boardman, appointed December 20, 1745; Andrew Boardman, Jr., (appointed special register on death of his father), 1769; William Kneeland, appointed May 29, 1769; James Winthrop, appointed September 6, 1775; James Foster, appointed May 26, 1817; Isaac Fiske, appointed October 29, 1817.

Registers of Insolvency:—Alonzo V. Lynde, appointed July 1, 1851; Alfred A. Prescott, appointed March 10, 1853; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Insolvency, 1856; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Probate and Insolvency November, 1858; Isaac F. Jones, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency January, 1859; Samuel H. Folsom, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1877-1892, and register of Probate and Insolvency, 1892-1894; William Everett Rogers, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1892-94; register of Insolvency 1904—; Frederick March Esty, assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1904—; Charles Nathan Harris, assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1905.

During the period of the Colony, the officer corresponding to the sheriff of later times was called marshal. The names of the marshals of the Colony have already been given. Since the charter creating the Province of Massachusetts Bay the sheriffs of the county have been the following:

Sheriffs:—Timothy Phillips, appointed 1692; Samuel Gookin, appointed 1702; Edmund Goffe, appointed 1715; Samuel Gookin, appointed 1728; Samuel Dummer, appointed 1729; Richard Foster, Jr., appointed 1731; Richard Foster, appointed 1761; David Phipps, appointed 1764; James Prescott, appointed 1779; Laommi Baldwin, appointed 1781; Joseph Hosmer, appointed 1794; William Hildreth, appointed 1808; Nathaniel Austin, Jr., appointed 1813; Benjamin F. Varnum, appointed 1831; Samuel Chandler, appointed 1841; Fisher A. Hildreth, appointed 1851; John S. Keyes, appointed 1853.

Under the nineteenth article of amendments to the Constitution, ratified in 1815, a law was passed in 1856 providing that at the annual

election in that year, and in every third year thereafter, a sheriff should be chosen in each county by the people. Under that law the following sheriffs have been chosen:

John S. Keyes, 1856; Charles Kimball, 1859, '62, '65, '68, '71, '74, '77; Ebenezer W. Fiske, 1880; Henry G. Cushing, 1883, '86, '89.

Up to the year 1654 the treasurer of the Colony acted as treasurer for the county. In that year, and by renewal in 1692, a law was passed providing that in each county a treasurer should be annually chosen by the people. A similar law remained in force until 1855. The following treasurers have held office in Middlesex County:

Thomas Danforth, until 1657; Edward Goffe, until 1658; John Stedman, until 1683; Samuel Andrew, until 1700 (except during the administration of Andros); Ebenezer Bridge, until 1807; John L. Tuttle, until 1813; John Keyes, until 1837; Stedman Buttrick, until 1855.

In 1855 it was enacted that a county treasurer should be chosen in that year in each county, and every third year thereafter, for the term of three years. Under the new law the following were chosen:

Amos Stone, 1855, '58, '61, '64, '67, '70, '73, '76, '79, '82; Joseph O. Hayden, 1885, '88.

During the Colonial period the clerks of the courts were appointed by the courts. During the Provincial period the clerks of the County Courts and those of the Superior Court of Judicature, and afterwards, until 1797, of the Supreme Judicial Court, were distinct, and the latter two clerks had their offices in Boston. Until 1811 the appointment of clerks lay with the courts, when it was vested in the Governor and Council and so remained until 1814, when it was given to the Supreme Judicial Court. In 1856 it was provided by law that in that year and every fifth year thereafter, clerks should be chosen by the people in the several counties. The following is probably a correct list of clerks from the incorporation of the county, in 1643, to the present time:

Thomas Danforth, under the Colonial charter; Samuel Phipps, 1689; Francis Foxcroft, 1721; John Foxcroft, 1766; Thadeus Mason, 1774; Thadeus Mason and Wm. Swan, 1785; Abraham Bigelow, 1790; Elias Phinney, 1831; Seth Ames, 1850, '56; Marshall Preston, assistant clerk, 1852; Benjamin F. Ham, 1861, '66; Theodore C. Hurd, 1871, '76, '81, '86; John L. Ambrose, second assistant clerk, 1880.

During the Colonial period, and until 1715, the clerks of the courts were registers of deeds, but in that year it was provided "that in each county some person having a freehold within said county to the value of at least ten pounds, should be chosen by the people of the county. As officers of the court the clerks were under the Colonial charter called

recorders, and as recorders kept the registry of deeds. Up to the present time the registers of deeds have been as follows:

Thomas Danforth until 1869; Samuel Phipps until 1721; Francis Foxcroft until 1766; John Foxcroft until 1776; Ebenezer Bridge until 1781; Thadeus Mason until 1786; William Winthrop until 1796; Samuel Bartlett until 1819; Isaac Fiske until 1820; Samuel Bartlett until 1822; William F. Stone until 1846; Caleb Hayden until 1855.

In 1855 it was provided by law that in that year, and every third year afterwards, a register of deeds should be chosen for three years in each county, and in the county of Middlesex two registers, one for Cambridge and one for Lowell. Under the law the registers have been:

Caleb Hayden for Cambridge, 1855, '58, '61, '64; Asahel B. Wright, for Lowell, 1855, '58, '61, '64; Charles B. Stevens, for Cambridge, 1867, '70, '73, '76, '79, '82, '85, '88; Ithamar W. Beard, for Lowell, 1867-70; Joseph P. Thompson, for Lowell, 1873, '76, '79, '82, '85, '88.

**County Officers**—By the provisions of the designated sections of Chapter 54 of the General Laws, county officers are chosen at the biennial State elections by the voters of each of the several counties as follows:

Section 154, a District Attorney in each of the districts into which the Commonwealth is divided for the administration of the criminal law,—1922 and every fourth year thereafter. A Clerk of the Courts in each county who shall act as the clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, of the Superior Court, and on the County Commissioners,—1922 and every sixth year thereafter. Section 156, a Register of Probate and Solvency,—1924 and every sixth year thereafter. Section 157, a Register of Deeds (district or county),—1922 and every sixth year thereafter. Section 158, two County Commissioners,—1924 and every fourth year thereafter (Revere and Winthrop voting with Middlesex County); and one county Commissioner and two Associate Commissioners,—1922 and every fourth year thereafter. Section 159, a Sheriff,—1926 and every sixth year thereafter. Section 160, a County Treasurer,—1924 and every sixth year thereafter.

All the foregoing officers hold office beginning with the first day of January following their election, and until their successors are chosen and qualified. By the provisions of Section 53 of Chapter 221 of the General Laws the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, is required to appoint in each county as vacancies occur, a certain number of Masters in Chancery, who may act throughout the Commonwealth and who shall hold office for five years unless removed by the Governor or Council.

The county officials of Middlesex in 1926 are:

Judges of Probate and Insolvency: George F. Lawton, Cambridge; John C. Leggat, Lowell.

Special Judge of Probate and Solvency: Arthur E. Beane, Cambridge.

Register of Probate and Insolvency: Charles N. Harris, Winchester.

Assistant Registers: Nellie H. Philbrick, Cambridge; Loring P. Jordon, Wakefield; Leroy P. Vose, Watertown.

Sheriff: John R. Fairburn, Cambridge.

Clerk of the Courts: Ralph N. Smith, Arlington. First Assistant Clerk: Roger H. Hurd, Winchester. Second Assistant Clerk: Frederick L. Putnam, Melrose. Third Assistant Clerk: John R. MacKinnon, Watertown. Fourth Assistant Clerk: Frederick C. Bean, Woburn. Fifth Assistant Clerk: Harriet L. Parker, Cambridge. Sixth Assistant Clerk: Charles T. Hughes, Somerville.

County Treasurer: Charles E. Hatfield, Newton.

Register of Deeds: Northern District, William C. Purcell, Lowell. Southern District: Thomas Leighton, Jr., Cambridge. Assistant Register for the Southern District: Albert T. Gutheim, Cambridge.

County Commissioners (whose jurisdiction extends over Revere and Winthrop in the County of Suffolk): Erson B. Barlow, Lowell. Term expires January, 1927. Alfred L. Cutting, Weston. Term expires January, 1929. Walter C. Wardwell, Cambridge. Term expires January, 1929.

Associate Commissioners: Sherman H. Fletcher, Westford. Term expires January, 1927. John M. Keyes, Concord. Term expires January, 1927.

Masters in Chancery: Fred D. Pollard, Belmont. Term expires May, 1925. John J. Flynn, Waltham. Term expires October, 1925. Edwin P. Fitzgerald, Somerville. Term expires December, 1925. Haven G. Hill, Lowell. Term expires January, 1926. David G. Fulton, Somerville. Term expires April, 1927. Gilbert A. A. Pevey, Cambridge. Term expires May, 1927. Stanley A. Dearborn, Wakefield. Term expires September, 1927. Henry V. Charbonneau, Lowell. Term expires February, 1928. Lloyd Makepeace, Malden. Term expires June, 1929. Jasper N. Johnson, Medford. Term expires September, 1929. P. Sarsfield Cunniff, Watertown. Term expires September, 1929.

Trial Justices: Daniel J. Riley, Hopkinton. Fred E. Morros, Hudson.

**District Courts**—Lowell (jurisdiction in Lowell, Billerica, Chelmsford, Dracut, Dunstable, Tewksbury and Tyngsborough). Justice, Thomas J. Enright. Special Justices: John J. Pickman, Frederick A. Fisher. Clerk: Edward W. Trull, 1929.

Marlborough (jurisdiction in Marlborough and Hudson)—Justice: James W. McDonald. Special Justices: Edgar Weeks, Raoul Beaudreau. Clerk: James F. J. Otterson, 1925.

Natick—Justice: Henry C. Mulligan. Special Justices: Michael F. Kennedy, Forrest N. Adams. Clerk: Norman S. Trippe, 1928.

Newton—Justice: William F. Bacon. Special Justices: W. Lloyd Allen, Thomas Weston. Clerk: Francis W. Sprague, 2d, 1928.

Somerville—Justice: Malcolm E. Sturtevant. Special Justices: Ralph M. Smith, ——— ———. Clerk: Daniel H. Bradley, 1927.

Central Middlesex (court held at Concord; jurisdiction in Acton, Bedford, Carlisle, Concord, Lincoln, Maynard, Stow and Lexington)—Justice: Prescott Keyes. Special Justices: Elihu G. Loomis, Howard A. Wilson. Clerk, Edward F. Loughlin, 1925.

First Northern Middlesex (court held at Ayer; jurisdiction in Ayer, Groton, Pepperell, Townsend, Ashby, Shirley, Westford, Littleton and Boxborough)—Justice: Warren H. Atwood. Special Justices: John M. Maloney, Francis G. Hayes. Clerk: D. Chester Parsons, 1927.

First Eastern Middlesex (court held at Malden; jurisdiction in Wakefield, Melrose, Malden, Everett and Medford)—Justice: Charles M. Bruce. Special Justices: E. Leroy Sweetser, Thomas P. Riley. Clerk: Wilfred B. Tyler, 1929.

Second Eastern Middlesex (court held at Waltham; jurisdiction in Watertown, Weston and Waltham)—Justice: John M. Gibbs. Special Justices: Michael J. Connolly, Joseph C. Hannon. Clerk: William J. Bannan, 1926.

Third Eastern Middlesex (court held at Cambridge; jurisdiction in Cambridge, Arlington and Belmont)—Justice: Arthur P. Stone. Special Justices: Robert Walcott, Edward A. Counihan, Jr. Clerk: William A. Forbes, 1925.

Fourth Eastern Middlesex (court held at Woburn; jurisdiction in Woburn, Winchester, Burlington, Wilmington, Stoneham, Reading and North Reading)—Justice: Jesse W. Morton. Special Justices: John G. Maguire, Curtis W. Nash. Clerk: Arthur E. Gage, 1928.

First Southern Middlesex (court held at Framingham; jurisdiction in Ashland, Framingham, Holliston, Sherborn, Sudbury and Wayland)—Justice: Edward W. Blodgett. Special Justices: Edward L. McManus, Joseph P. Dexter. Clerk: Frank F. Gerry, 1925.

District Attorneys (Elected by the several Districts for the term of four years, ending January, 1927).

Northern District (Middlesex County)—Arthur K. Reading, Cambridge. First Assistant: Gardner W. Pearson, Lowell. Assistants: Robert T. Bushnell, Newton; Warren L. Bishop, Wayland; Charles E. Lawrence, Belmont; Samuel H. Lewis, Cambridge.

From 1780 to 1807, there seems to have been no regularly appointed county attorneys. Under the provisions of Chapter 18, Section 1, of the Acts of 1807, the Governor was authorized to appoint "County

Attorneys" to prosecute criminal cases in their counties. In 1848, by Chapter 16, Section I, Middlesex became a separate district from Essex, with which it had been associated for six years. Under a provision of the Constitution adopted in 1855, District Attorneys have since been elected by the voters. The list of attorneys since 1807 is:

Samuel Dana, 1807 to 1811; Timothy Fuller, 1811 to 1813; Asahel Stearns, 1813 to 1832.

District Attorneys: Asahel Huntington, 1832 to 1845; Albert Hobart Nelson, 1845 to 1848; Charles Russel Train, 1848 to 1851; Asa W. Farr, 1851 to 1853; Charles R. Train, 1853 to 1855; Isaac Stevens Morse, 1855 to 1872; John Benton Goodrich, 1872 to 1874; George Stevens, 1874 to 1879; John Wilkes Hammond, 1879 to 1880; William Burnham Stevens, 1880 to 1890; Patrick Henry Cooney, 1890 to 1893; Frederick Newton Wier, 1893 to 1902; George Augustus Sanderson, 1902.

Theodore Clarence Hurd, 1865 to 1872; Charles John McIntire, 1872 to 1875; Joseph Gibson Holt, 1875 (one term); Henry Hedden Winslow, 1875 to 1880; Patrick Henry Cooney, 1880 to 1890; Charles Abiel Pevey, 1890 to 1893; George Augustus Sanderson, 1893 to 1902; Hugh Bancroft, 1902.

# CHAPTER IX

## CIVIL WAR.

So much has been written concerning the Civil War by brilliant capable men, many of whom shared in the campaigns of that conflict; so many valuable books have been contributed to the vast store of knowledge we have of the causes leading to the struggle, of the course which it took, the ways and means used in carrying it through to a successful end, that little can be added at the present day to that vast store. Interest has been revived, in a measure, in the tale of a former war because of America's participation in a more recent and vastly larger one. It is rather surprising, to say the least, upon comparing the two wars to find so many similarities in the handling of a situation, in both events unexpected and unprecedented. Parallels may be drawn between the conducts of the two wars, which would show that, after all, they differed mostly in size, the soil upon which they were fought and the different character of the foe.

Trouble had been brewing between the North and the South for several years prior to the outbreak of hostilities. For fifty years the State had enjoyed peace. The wastage of life and property that a war entailed had been forgotten. Massachusetts, and Middlesex County, had provided the early battle grounds in the Revolution. Even more had they provided the ideas which led to that war; the clash of ideas that had preceded the breaking away from the mother country. So, too, at a later day had the Commonwealth furnished the battlefields for ideas; the principles which finally were recognized as the base of the Civil War had a common birthplace, and Fanueil Hall was the cradle of them all. When there came the shedding of blood, it was fitting that it should be on the birthday of the first warfare of the Revolution in Middlesex, and that the blood spilled in Baltimore on that memorable April 19, 1861, should be that of Middlesex County men.

We are not to think, however, that because the clash of ideas started in Massachusetts, the State was in favor of war with their southern neighbors; as a whole it was opposed to any break or struggle. However much the pretensions of the autocratic South were disliked, however much the radicals of the Commonwealth hated slavery and raged for its abolition, the rank and file were averse to interfering with the South or its manner of securing labor. Massachusetts was peculiarly an

industrial State; upon the making of textiles was based the major part of its prosperity. Cotton was needed to keep the spindles a-going. The whole north, as Wendell Phillips put it, "was choked with cotton dust;" and a set of business men who had intimate relations with the producers of raw cotton, were not abolitionists, or even concerned in any anti-slavery agitation. Nor were the laboring classes any more interested than their employers in anything that was likely to take from them their means of support. As a Lowell man, Nathan Appleton, wrote to a Charlestown friend, "It is a great mistake to suppose that these (politicians) represent the feelings of the masses in the North, or even in New England. Every man of common sense knows that the abolition of slavery, if desirable, is an utter impossibility, and there is no such thing as a general hatred of the South."

The outbreak of the war came as a surprise to an unprepared people. Only the wiser heads, particularly those who represented the State in Congress realized the inevitableness of the conflict. The Massachusetts Senator, Charles Sumner, "the anti-slavery prophet," the "*avant courier* proclaiming to the world the ideas that dominated the war, and setting up the flagstaff along the line of march farther in front than was revealed to the ordinary vision" had attempted to arouse the State to a realization of its unreadiness for a war that was certain to come. But, as in our own generation, little heed was given to his words, or to those of a hundred others of the State and Nation's leaders.

When the news came of the firing on Sumter, and following it the sudden call for troops, the people of the Commonwealth stood aghast wondering what they could do. In nine-tenths of the towns of the county all military organizations had lapsed more than a quarter of a century previously. At the time of the President's first call for soldiers, the total available military force of Massachusetts was less than 6,000 men, and the most of these were in the sea-board towns or the large cities. The whole western half of the State had not one thousand volunteers in its militia; several eastern counties had not a single military company. Outside of Boston and its county, the greatest source and supply of soldiery were the military organizations of Middlesex County and the patriotic farming and laboring classes.

In spite of the opposition to war by the average citizen, and the lack of military organizations, equipment, or readiness in any respect, the Commonwealth had begun earlier than any of the sister States to at least outfit such soldiers as it had. John A. Andrew, elected in 1860 Governor of the State, was shrewd enough to do what he could to get the militia in shape for the inevitable. He was big enough to take the advice in military matters from his erstwhile opponent, Benjamin Butler. The officers of the famous Sixth Regiment met in January and author-

ized their Colonel "forthwith, to tender the services of the Sixth Regiment to the Commander-in-Chief and Legislature, when such services should become desirable." This Sixth was made up, for the most part, of residents of Middlesex County. Half of this regiment had no arms and the other half had only the unsafe army musket. A quarter were without uniforms, and the most of the rest had uniforms of differing colors and styles. Colonel Jones put in a request for the least quantity of equipment. Some of this had been supplied when the hurry-call came for a regiment to hasten to the National Capitol which, at the outbreak of hostilities, was practically surrounded by enemies in the enemies' country, and cut off from communication with the North.

**Lincoln's Inaugural Address**—Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. His inaugural address laid down as basic principles: that the rights of each State to control its domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively should be maintained inviolate; the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the fugitive slave law should be faithfully executed in all States; the Union is unbroken and perpetual; and the laws of the Union should be faithfully executed in all States. In pursuance of these principles, Lincoln ordered supplies sent to Fort Sumter. Governor Pickens of South Carolina ordered the bombardment of the Fort. War had begun and Massachusetts at once threw all of its energies into the successful prosecution of the war.

Meanwhile the State had given notice of its intentions, when the Legislature on January 23, 1861, passed the following resolution:

> Whereas, several States of the Union have through the action of their people and the authorities assumed the attitude of rebellion against the National Government; and whereas, treason is still more extensively diffused; and whereas, the State of South Carolina, having first seized the Post Office, Custom House, moneys, arms, munitions of war and fortifications of the United States, has by firing upon a vessel in the service of the United States, committed an act of war; and whereas, the forts and property of the United States in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Florida have been seized with hostile and treasonable intention; and whereas, Senators and Representatives in Congress avow and sanction these acts of rebellion, therefore,
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> Resolved, that the Legislature of Massachusetts, now as always, convinced of the inestimable value of the Union, and the necessity of preserving its blessings to ourselves and our posterity, regard with unmingled satisfaction the determination evinced in the recent firm and patriotic special message of the President of the United States to apply and faithfully discharge his constitutional duty of enforcing the laws and preserving the integrity of the Union, and we proffer him, through the Governor of the Commonwealth, such aid in men and money as he may require, to maintain the authority of the National Government.
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> Resolved, that the Union-loving and patriotic authorities, representatives, and citizens of these United States whose loyalty is endangered or assailed by internal

or external treason, who labor in behalf of the Federal Union with unflinching courage and patriotic devotion, will receive the enduring gratitude of the American people.

Resolved, that the Governor be requested to forward, forthwith, copies of the foregoing resolution to the President of the United States and the Governors of the several States.

**Preparation for War**—It is to the everlasting credit of the towns of the State particularly those in Middlesex County, that they had as comprehensive a view of the situation as the State, and in their views and plans to meet the difficulties brought about by being thrust into war, reached a height beyond that attained by many of the so-called statesmen. An inquiry into the votes passed, resolutions adopted, vigor of preparation shown in the town meetings all over the county, reveals a common-sense and patriotic support of the government not surpassed by the higher legislative bodies.

"In most of the towns, town meetings were held as soon as legal notice could be given, to take measures to organize new military companies, and to provide the members with proper uniforms and outfits, and in the event of their being called into active service, to make suitable provision for the comfortable maintenance of their families. In many places, votes were passed to pay the men a per diem for every day or half day spent in drilling, previous to being mustered into active military service, and to make considerable additions to the monthly pay allowed by Government. For these and similar purposes liberal appropriations were made, and, when necessary, the selectmen or town treasurers were authorized to borrow whatever sums of money there might be required to carry the votes into practical effect. In some cases, committees were appointed to assist the selectmen in recruiting volunteers and in distributing assistance to the soldiers' families; but in every town the weight of the duties was made to rest on the shoulders of the regular town officers, who, at stated periods, reported their doings to the citizens in 'town meeting assembled,' and were by them approved. And although these officers received and paid for war purposes and for State aid, during the war, upwards of twenty-two millions of dollars, we do not find, in an examination of the records of every town, that in a single instance was there a dollar misapplied, or a suspicion ever entertained that any portion of the vast sums appropriated had been withheld or expended in a corrupt or improper manner by any of the town or city officers."

Later in this chapter, a table made up from the exhaustive researches into the war history of the towns of the State by William Schouler, will show just what each town in Middlesex did in the number of soldiers furnished, the surplus over all demands in this line, the amounts of

money expended exclusive of State aid, and the moneys spent and later repaid by the State.

The first Presidential call for troops came on April 15, 1861, it being for 75,000 for three months. On May 3, the call was for 50,000; July 1, 600,000 for three years. On August 4, 1862, the demand was for 300,000 men for nine months; in 1863, October 17, the call was for 300,000 men. July 18, 1864, and again came the request of the country for 500,000 men; and again on December 19, for an additional 300,000. The surrender of Richmond was followed by the recruiting of voluteers for 100 days. These are figures for the Nation. Middlesex County furnished its full quota to every call made by the President, and at the end of the war had supplied 1,607 more men than the number required. Each individual town supplied a surplus. Probably more than 30,000 went from the county, which in 1860 only had a population of 216,352. Official figures, which do not include many who enlisted in regiments formed outside of the State, and are necessarily incomplete, are 29,170. Schouler thinks Middlesex sent at least 32,000 into the services of the Union Armies and Navy. Of these, only a very small proportion were drafted, only a fraction of one per cent being in this class.

Massachusetts supplied in all, 159,165, out of a population of little more than a million, a most remarkable number. Probably no State in the Union made such a remarkable showing when all things are considered. The State did not have the proportion of men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five that the Middle States had. Emigration had been very great to these States from New England in the period just prior to the war. There was also a greater proportion of foreigners in Massachusetts, while the percentage of women and other noncombatants in the State was larger than any other of the United States. As a maritime State, with many of its young men exempt from service because engaged in the fisheries, there was another hardship suffered, for the requirements of the government were meted out without any consideration being given to other than population figures. Yet in spite of the difficulties under which the State labored there were few recruiting troubles, the required numbers were supplied, and all this with no larger bounties paid than were given in other States.

The bounty question is somewhat misunderstood. At the beginning of the war business was in rather a bad way, and recruiting was therefore easy. Later business so picked up that laborers were in great demand, and wages rose to great heights; conditions which held during the World War. An enlisted man received sixteen dollars a month; the workman could make this amount twice over each week. The need of the Union was great; but so was the need of the family for support. As a means of equalizing the differences between these two demands, boun-

ties were paid to volunteers, and State aid was given to the family thus deprived of its head and support. As mentioned, the draft was an exceptional and little used means to secure men at a crisis. About $13,000,000 was paid out by the State in bounties, but this was only $10.74 per inhabitant of the State according to the census of 1865, or about $2.50 a year. The total amount (as recorded) expended by the State was $51,462,000, or nearly $50.00 per inhabitant. This sum, particularly if the difference in the value of the dollar is considered, is proportionately much larger than the expense incurred during the late conflict. The total expenditure of Middlesex County was but a few dollars less than four million.

**Massachusetts in the War**—The multiplicity of general histories of the Civil War makes any endeavor to outline the progress of that war uncalled for here. But it is fitting that some mention should be made of some of the troops enlisted mostly in the county which played important parts in the Rebellion. Massachusetts was not only a leading State in the support it gave the National government, but a number of its regiments were in the van of the warfare. Altogether there were nearly a hundred separate divisions of troops sent by the Commonwealth, and the citizens of Middlesex County were represented in more than eighty different organizations. Even the listing of these organizations and the Middlesex men who were in them is manifestly impossible in this brief chapter.

There is one regiment, "which through force of circumstances is the most famous organization called to the defense of the national government"—the Sixth. This was the first "to offer its services in the case of need, it was the first to shed its blood and give its lives, and it was the first command armed and equipped for active service to reach the National Capital." The most of this regiment came from Lowell, although there were companies in it from Worcester, Stoneham and Boston. When summoned to the aid of Washington, they gathered at headquarters in Lowell the morning after the call came for their services, although scattered through four counties. That same day, April 16, 1861, the eight companies arrived in Boston, where they exchanged the old nondescript arms for rifles. After an enthusiastic reception they entrained for Washington, stopping at Philadelphia on the night of the eighteenth.

The representatives from Middlesex were, in part, Colonel Edward Jones of Pepperell, in command; Norman Smith of Groton, surgeon; Charles Babbidge of Pepperell, Chaplain; and other general officers were from Lowell, Groton and Acton. Companies A, C, H, were from Lowell, Companies B from Groton, E from Acton, and L from Stoneham.

Leaving Philadelphia at one in the morning, because of a wish to avoid friction with the disloyal citizens of Baltimore, the bulk, seven companies, were quietly conveyed across the city in cars. Company K was fired upon, wounding four, this being the only section to meet with serious trouble. Meanwhile the car-tracks were either torn up or so obstructed that there was no possibility of conveying the remaining four companies, C, D, L, I, all but one from Middlesex. These debarking from the train started to march across Baltimore under the command of Captain Follansbee, and were compelled to fight their way through an infuriated mob of thousands. Four soldiers were killed and thirty-six wounded. The four who lost their lives, the first in the war, were Corporal Needham of the Lawrence company; Addison O. Whitney of the Lowell Guards; Luther C. Ladd, also of the Lowell Guards and Charles A. Taylor, still another member. The remains of Whitney and Ladd lie in Monument Square in Lowell near the monument erected in their honor. Taylor was without uniform at the time of his death and under the supposition that he was a civilian, was interred in Baltimore. It should be recorded that Maryland made honorable amends for the attack in Baltimore, by voting, in 1862, the sum of $7,000 for the relief of the families of the soldiers who were wounded or killed in the clash of arms.

The regiment proceeded to Washington, where it was most cordially greeted and quartered in the Senate chamber, to the great amusement of the troopers. The Sixth was used mostly for guard duty while in Washington and was mustered out at the end of its enlistment in August. The regiment, however, responded to the call for nine-month troops in 1862, and in its new form was even more completely a Middlesex regiment, Cambridge taking the place of Worcester, and a mixed county organization made up Company K. Albert Follansbee was commanding colonel. After heavy service, the regiment was mustered out for the second time, June 3, 1863. In 1864 the Sixth served for the third time as volunteers for the closing period of 100 days.

Probably the main interest in this first of the Middlesex regiments to be sent from the county and State, is that it had the priority in the several things already mentioned concerning it. That it was the "first armed and equipped troop to respond to Lincoln's call" has been questioned, there seeming "to be a conspiracy on the part of some writers to depreciate the Bay State and all its military achievements." Pennsylvania troops reached the capital a few hours before the Middlesex regiment, but the historian, Lossing, says that the Pennsylvanians "were almost without arms" and therefore useless in the defense of Washington. Colonel Jones, writing at a later time said: "Such was the anxiety at Washington that on our arrival we were greeted by the Pres-

ident and the Cabinet; President Lincoln grasped my hand and with tears in his eyes said: 'Thank God you are here. If you had not come we should be in the hands of the Rebels before morning. Your brave boys have saved the Capital, God bless them.'" Evidently the motto chosen by the veterans of the Sixth is deserved: "First to volunteer; first in the field; first to shed its blood; first to triumph."

One of the aftermaths of the affair at Baltimore was the stimulation of enlistments all over the county. The co-incidence that it had occurred on the same day as the Battle of Lexington, the very unexpectedness of opposition breaking out in what was almost a northern State, the fact that it was county boys who had been slain, all helped to stir the people up to such a burst of patriotism, that more soldiers were enlisted in the next month in Middlesex County than could be accepted by the government. The larger towns formed from two to four companies; the smaller towns joined forces and shared in the organization of sections. Certain of the larger places enrolled on the recruiting list as high as one-sixth of the voting population of the town.

At an extra session of the Legislature, May 14, 1861, provision was made by the State whereby the families of enlisted men could be cared for by the various towns, the amounts expended to be repaid by the Commonwealth. Extravagance on the part of the smaller places was curbed by limiting the amount that the State would repay, but the towns in question spent as they thought right without caring whether they were reimbursed later. The Christian and Sanitary Commission came into being on this wave of patriotic ardor, local auxiliaries being formed in nearly all the Middlesex towns. Nearly all religious societies were numbered in this work. The appropriate name was adopted, in most cases, for the auxiliaries of "Soldiers' Aid Societies," the object usually being to help the soldiers in matters not covered by the government organizations. As worded by Judge Crosby, the Soldiers' Aid Society was a plan of practical sympathy devised: "For gathering such funds as should be needed; for supplying nurses for the sick and wounded where and when and as far as was practicable; for bringing home such sick and wounded as may be proper; for buying clothes, provisions and all matters of comfort which would contribute to the soldiers' happiness; for placing in the camps Bibles and such books and papers as would interest and amuse on days of rest and quiet, and keep the soldiers informed of passing events; for gathering the dates and making a record of all the names of each soldier and his history; for holding constant communication with the paymasters and other officers of our regiments that friends may exchange letters and packages." This reads very like a list of the organizations formed during the World War to care for our soldier boys in this country and abroad. The knitting

CITY HALL AND MONUMENT SQUARE, LOWELL
(Showing monument marking burial place of the first three men killed in the Civil War)

societies of 1861-5, the fairs and money-making affairs put through to raise funds for the troops, were very much like those of 1918, and were probably as proportionately successful as those of the later day, even if the machinery of the older time was less elaborate.

The emphasis had been, so far, on the war record of Lowell. This has been natural and right, not because the first regiment went from this city, but because at the outbreak of the Civil War it was the largest place in the county, furnished the most soldiers, 5,266, supplied the largest number of officers, of which none became more famous than Benjamin Butler. Only in the matter of funds expended was Lowell surpassed, and in this only by a few thousand dollars; this was by Cambridge. The city had troops in the noted Sixteenth regiment, the Twenty-sixth, Thirtieth, Thirty-third, 250 men of which were from Lowell; few regiments saw more fighting or took part in more battles, Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and marched with Sherman through Georgia. Other regiments having Lowell soldiers are the Twentieth; Third Cavalry; Forty-eighth; Fifteenth Light Battery; and other organizations, in the State and out, had Lowell residents.

Cambridge, the second largest town in the county, although it only numbered 26,000 in 1860, sent 3,600 men into the ranks, and expended nearly a million dollars in various forms of war activities and benevolences, ranking in this respect the highest in Middlesex. James Prentiss Richardson is the first of the many officers who came from this city. He saw the unpreparedness of the State for war and began the recruiting of a company of volunteers in January. When the call came from Washington for 75,000 men, the company numbering sixty was accepted by the Governor, but before going on orders to Fortress Monroe, it had been raised to ninety-five. It became a part of the Third Regiment, served a rather uneventful three months; was mustered out, but all but two of the company immediately re-enlisted. Of this band of ninety-five, twenty-seven received commissions before the end of the war, twenty-one were killed in battle or died from other causes.

Altogether, Cambridge had two hundred commissioned officers in the Union armies. Nearly 350 men gave their lives for their country, of whom thirty-five were officers. On Cambridge Common is the splendid Soldiers and Sailors' Monument, erected in 1869, on which are eight tablets giving the names of the dead. The lists are headed by the name of Brigadier Charles Russel Lowell, "than whom, at no time, and in no country, did braver officer draw sword,—a fit leader of this immortal band."

Newton was, in 1860, the third largest town in Middlesex, and furnished more than her quota of soldiers. It suffered the disadvantage of

most of the smaller places in not having any military organization from which to draw troops at the beginning of the war so that most of the boys who volunteered went into regiments recruited in Boston or other large cities. A listing of those from Newton having a part in the Civil War gives the impression that there were few Massachusetts regiments in which the old town was not represented. But, only in the Thirty-second and Forty-fourth did it have full companies. If all the men had been gathered together in the Fifth Cavalry, Newton would have had a company in this troop. It is not to be understood that the town had few men in the Union forces, for it sent 1,076 before the conflict was over; it was simply that her men were scattered through too many regiments, and the individual groups small.

That Newton may be given full credit for the enlistments of her men, and to show how difficult it is to give a connected story of the soldierly activities of any given section, the following table shows the wide distribution of the men of so large a place as Newton:

Three Years' Troops—First Regiment, 15 privates; Second, 2 privates; Ninth, 5 privates; Twelfth, 4 privates; Thirteenth, 5 men; Sixteenth, 17 men; Seventeenth, 4 men; Eighteenth, 2 men; Twentieth, 5 men; Twenty-first, 1 man; Twenty-second, 3 men; Twenty-fourth, 15 men; Twenty-eighth, 1 man; Twenty-ninth, 2 men; Thirtieth, 1 man; Thirty-second, 8 officers, 27 non-commissioned officers and 78 men; Thirty-third, 2 men; Thirty-fifth, 2 men; Thirty-eighth, 2 men; Fifty-fourth, 1 man; Fifty-fifth, 1 man; Fifty-seventh, 2 men; Fifty-ninth, 1 man; Sixty-first, 1 man; Sixty-second, 1 man.

Cavalry—First Regiment, 26 men; Second, 6 men; Third, 9 men; Fourth, 7 men; Fifth, 82 men.

Artillery—First Battery, 1 man; Ninth, 1 man; Thirteenth, 3 men; Fifteenth, 1 man; Sixteenth, 1 man.

First Heavy Artillery—3 men; Second, 7 men; Third, 3 men.

Nine Month Troops—Fifth Regiment, 3 men; Sixth, 1 man; Forty-second, 9 men; Forty-third, 2 men; Forty-fourth, 5 officers and 102 men; Forty-fifth, 28 men; Forty-seventh, 3 men; Forty-eighth, 1 man.

One Hundred Day Troops—Fifth Regiment, 3 men; Sixth, 4 men; Eighth, 1 man; Forty-second, 9 men; Sixtieth, 2 men; Twenty-second Unattached Company, 2 men.

Three Month Volunteers—Fifth Regiment, 2 men; Regular Army, 40 men; Navy, 41 men.

A list of the officers coming from Newton would make a list of more than forty. Newton was one of the first towns in the county to strive to honor its dead by erecting a monument to their memory. This took the form of an obelisk of granite, resting on a die and plinth, with an entablature at the base surmounted by a cannon and bearing the names

of the fifty-nine heroes of Newton who had laid down their lives in the service of their country.

Because of the number of Newton citizens in its ranks, the career of the Thirty-second Infantry was followed with the closest interest by those at home. It was a famous fighting regiment, always seeming to be the one thrust into the fore-front of battle. Losses were great, changes of officers many to replace those killed or disabled. Newton had thirty-five officers in one company of this regiment before the end of the war. The Thirty-second fought at Fredericksburg, and at Chancellorsville, and suffered much, but it was at Gettysburg that it received its baptism of blood. Thrust into an exposed situation, the troops held their ground until a withdrawal from the rear let the enemy in on the flank. Re-forming and retaking the ground lost, again a break in the line allowed them to be flanked, again the enemy swarmed in on the sides and rear, and for the regiment, the battle became a hand-to-hand encounter. In that battle of Gettysburg, the Newton company lost half of its men, the regiment suffering a loss of a third. It took some time for the company to be recruited to its former strength. Meanwhile its term of service came to an end, but almost to a man the company reënlisted. A thirty day furlough was given. Imagine the enthusiasm of Newton as it greeted its battle-scarred representatives upon their return home for a month's rest. Back to the front and into the Wilderness campaign, the Thirty-second met its usual fortune. At Laurel Hill in a short half hour, 103 were killed or wounded out of the 190 of the regiment engaged. And yet, on the next day, the remnant was again engaged in battle, and continued in the field until they had the honor of being at Appomattox Court House and at the head of the Union columns were advancing on the enemy, when the firing ceased and a flag of truce was sighted by Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, and with it came the first of the messages which resulted in Lee's surrender that afternoon. The regiment was soon sent home and disbanded. In its three years' service in the field, it had taken part in thirty battles, the names of which it was ordered to inscribe on its banners.

Somerville ranked fourth in population at the beginning of the Rebellion, but was third in the number of soldiers it sent into the ranks. The town also supplied more over the required quota of men, proportionately, than any other town. Unlike the most of the towns in the State, Somerville had a Light Infantry Company ready to respond to the first call of the President. It was with the Fifth Regiment, under the command of Colonel Lawrence of Medford, that the Somerville company went gaily off to the war that was to be over in a few months, if the Secretary of War was to be believed. The regiment saw little service,

the first Battle of Bull Run being the only engagement before the end of its enlistment period.

The next year saw another company serving as Company B in the Fifth, and at the close of the war this same company volunteered for a hundred days. The Somerville Guards, recruited in 1862, for three years' service, was made a part of the Thirty-ninth Regiment as Company E. This regiment joined the Army of the Potomac in 1863, with which it remained until the close of the war. A large part of the casualties suffered by the soldiery of Somerville were those in this regiment which saw long and hard service. Many of the deaths occurred in Confederate prison pens where the men had been confined after capture.

Doctor Booth, in his sketch of Somerville, says: "Somerville furnished forty commissioned officers and one thousand and eighty-five men for the war in all of its branches, which was a surplus of one hundred and forty-seven above the number required. Ninety-eight were killed or died of disease incident to the hardships of war, and two hundred and fifty were wounded. A marble monument was erected in the cemetery in 1863 to the memory of the dead. It was the first soldiers' monument erected in Massachusetts."

Of the remaining towns in the county, only Waltham, Woburn, Marlborough, Malden and Natick numbered more than five thousand residents. Not many of the places smaller in population were able to raise and send separate companies. Waltham's first company was numbered H, and attached to the Sixteenth Massachusetts Volunteers. It saw severe service with the Army of the Potomac for nearly three years. The Waltham Light Dragoons, organized in 1853, formed the nucleus of two companies in the First Massachusetts Cavalry. Waltham also sent a number of men into the Thirty-fifth, Fortieth, and the Fifty-sixth regiments of the three year troops, and also into the Fifth, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth regiments of nine month troops. The most noted officer coming from Waltham was Major General N. P. Banks who was conspicuous during the whole war. Two of his brothers, Lieutenant Hiram P. Banks, killed at the second Battle of Bull Run, and Colonel Gardner Banks, also served well through this crucial period. The total number of men sent by Waltham during the war was 700.

Woburn, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, revived the "Phalanx," one of its former militia companies, which was the first to get to the front, but only after being split up, the most of the company becoming a part of a New York regiment. Not deterred by the separation of its first company, the Woburn Union Guards were formed in July of 1861, but this also was shifted about not becoming a permanent part of any regiment until attached to the Twenty-second. This Twenty-second was the leading Massachusetts regiment in point of numerical losses in the Union

armies, a total of killed and dead from wounds being 216. Company F (Woburn Guards) lost 31 out of a total of 131. A partial list of the battles in which this regiment was engaged includes: Gaines Mill, Malvern Hill, Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania. The remnant of the Twenty-second after so disastrous a set of battles was absorbed by the Thirty-second. The Woburn National Rangers, raised in fifteen days, became Company K of the Thirty-ninth Regiment. This body of men was peculiarly unfortunate in having a large number of men captured, losing 246 men in this way at Weldon railroad. More than a hundred died in Southern prisons. The war spirit of Woburn seems to have run high all through the conflict. The Mechanic Phalanx of 1862, as well as three other organizations were formed. There was a juvenile company in Warren Academy, and the Woburn State Guard of men too old to go to the front. In all 708 went into the Union service from the town, and the incomplete number of the dead inscribed on the monument erected by the town, totals 82, or nearly twelve per cent.

Marlborough was fully abreast the other towns in the county in the part it took in the War of the Rebellion. Company G of the Ninth Infantry was mainly recruited in the town in 1861. Companies I and F of the Thirteenth were also mustered in at Marlborough in 1861. Following this were enlistments of men who were scattered in a third of all the regiments sent from Massachusetts. Company I of the Fifth was a town company, and I and E of the same regiment during the hundred enlistment were mainly from Marlborough. In all, Marlborough is credited by a town historian with having 869 men engaged in the war, 574 for three years, 91 for one year, 108 for nine months, and 96 for one hundred days. Nearly a hundred thousand dollars was voted by the town for various war needs. In 1869 the first public observance of Memorial Day was co-incident with the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument which now dominates and ornaments a central corner of the town.

Natick, with a population of little more than five thousand sent six hundred and twenty-five of its citizens into the Union forces. Thirty of these rose to be commissioned officers; ninety in all gave their lives. Most of the men recruited in the town were distributed among the many regiments of the State. Several Natick men were officers in the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth, colored troops with white commanders. Charles A. Hartwell was commanding Colonel of the Fifth (colored) Infantry, later rising to the rank of Brigadier-General. Alfred Hartwell was Colonel of the Fifty-fourth (colored) Regiment and later Brigadier-General. Josiah A. Bean and William Nutt were both First Lieutenants of the Fifty-fifth, the latter becoming a Colonel by brevet. One of

Natick's native sons became both prominent and vastly useful, although he served but twenty-three days and never rose above the rank of Colonel, Henry Wilson. He was United States Senator at the breaking out of the war, and fearing that Massachusetts might not do all that could be expected of her, returned to the State between sessions of Congress and gave his energies to the raising of troops. The prestige of his name was so great, that in a few weeks no fewer than twenty companies were in the process of formation. The ten more nearly complete were mustered in as the Twenty-second Regiment with Henry Wilson as the commanding colonel. Before the regiment saw actual service, Mr. Wilson was compelled to resign to take up his duties with the government at Washington.

So far we have been considering in a brief way a mere outline of the Civil War activities of a few of the larger towns in Middlesex County. These more populous centers furnished much of the money and supplied many of the soldiers who fought in that conflict. They did only their proportional part, and if they have been singled out for mention here it is only because little had been said in the local histories of these towns about the part they had in the great adventure. The smaller towns furnished more than ten per cent of their population for the Union forces. Unlike the larger places, they had been hard hit by the depression which followed the outbreak of hostilities. Certain trades and manufactures were helped by war conditions and drew heavily upon the young men of the farming communities for workers in the factories. Places, both large and small, found it increasingly difficult to recruit the required number of soldiers, but the larger towns had the prosperity, the means, to pay large bounties. The smaller villages and the farming sections, not only had to raise the required number of men, but from depleted means, had to find the money to care for its soldiers. The story of the noble efforts of the minor settlements in Middlesex has never been appreciated at their worth, nor fully told. Some hint has been given in the local histories of these places, and credit given in a measure.

Emphasis has been laid on the heroic sacrifices of the men who did their duty in battle and march and camp. Upon them came the hardship and the sacrifices of war. They risked their lives, and many never returned. More came back to suffer and die from injury and disease contracted during their service. Some agonized in Southern prisons and died in Southern hospitals. The record of the men of the Civil War is one of which they and we can be proud. Every patriotic heart does homage to the men of that day.

But on the wives, mothers and women at home, came burdens just as great and hard to bear. They bore themselves with as much of bravery and cheerfulness as those who went to the front. The women of Mid-

dlesex served faithfully and as far as lay within their power. Efficient organizations were perfected that supplied clothing, funds, comforts to the sick and wounded. Some—many, left their homes to go into the hospitals, to aid by their ministries. Less conspicuous but none the less great, was the share done by the women of Middlesex.

The following is a tabulation of records taken from William Schouler's records of the parts played by the towns of Massachusetts in the War of the Rebellion. Mr. Schouler, as Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth, had access to documents and lists, such as had probably no other man in the State:

| Town | Population in 1860 | Number of Soldiers Furnished | Surplus Over all Demands | Money Spent Exclusive of State Aid | Money Spent and Repaid by the State |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acton | 1,726 | 195 | 30 | $13,072.00 | $8,737,03 |
| Ashby | 1,091 | 114 | 15 | 16,985.00 | 4,141.71 |
| Ashland | 1,554 | 184 | 11 | 12,468.59 | 11,853.89 |
| Bedford | 843 | 95 | 4 | 4,500.00 | 3,924.78 |
| Belmont | 1,198 | 137 | 8 | 22,006.00 | 1,896.52 |
| Billerica | 1,776 | 173 | 4 | 13,278.05 | 12,243.28 |
| Boxborough | 403 | 51 | 7 | 7,046.87 | 1,347.53 |
| Brighton | 3,375 | 365 | 5 | 78,050.00 | 11,823.10 |
| Burlington | 606 | 82 | 4 | 10,651.00 | 1,800.31 |
| Cambridge | 26,060 | 3,600 | 158 | 450,978.40 | 242,933.21 |
| Carlisle | 621 | 74 | 2 | 10,724.90 | 4,515.97 |
| Chelmsford | 2,291 | 249 | 29 | 27,623.00 | 14,567.82 |
| Concord | 2,246 | 229 | 12 | 17,500.00 | 9,058.69 |
| Dracut | 1,881 | 218 | 11 | 17,616.00 | 10,594.35 |
| Dunstable | 487 | 72 | 10 | 12,725.79 | 1,399.61 |
| Framingham | 4,227 | 426 | 19 | 31,149.29 | 19,793.69 |
| Groton | 3,193 | 400 | 49 | 31,724.47 | 14,958.20 |
| Holliston | 3,339 | 364 | 33 | 40,622.08 | 25,680.71 |
| Hopkinton | 4,340 | 425 | 16 | 30,000.00 | 29,849.85 |
| Lexington | 2,329 | 225 | 10 | 25,337.00 | 10,121.07 |
| Lincoln | 718 | 79. | 4 | 10,385.50 | 3,205.16 |
| Littleton | 1,063 | 117 | 18 | 11,104.33 | 3,221.47 |
| Lowell | 36,827 | 5,266 | 218 | 309,242.39 | 334,515.55 |
| Malden | 5,865 | 567 | 71 | 60,085.00 | 31,868.33 |
| Marlborough | 5,911 | 731 | 28 | 51,584.11 | 45,368.45 |
| Medford | 4,842 | 557 | 61 | 56,099.80 | 37,544.50 |
| Melrose | 2,532 | 416 | 73 | 38,592.70 | 19,957.80 |
| Natick | 5,515 | 625 | 55 | 38,575.29 | 49,821.15 |
| Newton | 8,382 | 1,076 | 64 | 105,720.43 | 37,606.70 |
| North Reading | 1,203 | 131 | 7 | 25,315.00 | 11,828.37 |
| Pepperell | 1,895 | 186 | 13 | 16,282.75 | 9,876.11 |
| Reading | 2,662 | 411 | 34 | 37,971.11 | 25,888.84 |
| Sherborn | 1,129 | 108 | 16 | 20,510.00 | 4,792.22 |
| Shirley | 1,468 | 142 | 11 | 13,714.23 | 5,516.94 |
| Somerville | 8,025 | 1,135 | 147 | 133,039.41 | 55,992.54 |
| South Reading | 3,207 | 386 | 33 | 49,456.49 | 36,855.25 |
| Stoneham | 3,206 | 404 | 46 | 30,646.79 | 36,111.73 |

| Town | Population in 1860 | Number of Soldiers Furnished | Surplus Over all Demands | Money Spent Exclusive of State Aid | Money Spent and Repaid by the State |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stow | 1,641 | 174 | 22 | 15,991.70 | 8,643.47 |
| Sudbury | 1,691 | 168 | 11 | 17,575.00 | 6,199.18 |
| Tewksbury | 1,744 | 180 | 11 | 13,387.00 | 5,490.18 |
| Townsend | 2,005 | 250 | 33 | 37,933.00 | 11,848.89 |
| Tyngsborough | 626 | 65 | 3 | 6,908.00 | 2,208.82 |
| Waltham | 6,397 | 700 | 7 | 52,574.00 | 43,318.29 |
| Watertown | 3,270 | 392 | 6 | 41,205.00 | 18,293.13 |
| Wayland | 1,188 | 124 | 8 | 13,582.00 | 6,944.58 |
| West Cambridge | 2,681 | 172 | 15 | 26,180.58 | 10,525.37 |
| Weston | 1,243 | 131 | 15 | 12,528.90 | 2,358.66 |
| Wilmington | 919 | 99 | 10 | 15,040.84 | 6,022.79 |
| Winchester | 1,937 | 224 | 19 | 21,701.40 | 11,290.53 |
| Woburn | 6,287 | 708 | 54 | 89,066.68 | 51,456.22 |

# CHAPTER X

## THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

After a period of peace lasting more than a third of a century, the United States, in 1898, engaged in its first war waged in foreign lands. And that war, unlike "foreign" wars, did not grow out of any desire to acquire territory; it was not a war of conquest or oppression, but one waged in the interests of humanity. A nearby neighbor, one much older than the States, had been for years in revolt against its treatment by its mother country. Year after year attempts had been continued to throw off the galling shackles that bound it down and was slowly bringing about its destruction. Many of these rebellious uprisings almost amounted to major affairs; almost they seemed like war between two nations, rather than family affairs. The sympathy of the United States was with its neighbor, but the policy of the Nation forbade any interference in the difficulty. Diplomatically the United States was neutral; in feelings the opposite was true. The citizenship of our land were thorough sympathizers with the Cuban cause; the newspapers kept the people in a constant ferment. Surreptitious aid was given the belligerent Islanders. Arms, ammunitions, supplies and men found their way into Cuba. Spain naturally resented this state of affairs greatly, and a letter of her Minister to this country, expressing his contempt of our government and President, did not cement the affections of the two countries, when once the letter had been printed for all to read. When the Spanish authorities allowed the minister in question to resign rather than recall him as our Government had insisted, diplomatic relations were strained to the breaking point. And all this happened on February 9, 1898. The Maine was destroyed less than a week later!

**Causes of War**—There were, undoubtedly, other than humanitarian motives behind the Spanish-American War. It is not well to always place a halo about everything our country does. In one respect the war was the logical ending of a long and stormy conflict with Spain; it was the end of another race war. We had fought the French for dominancy in this country in the years before the Revolution. Wolfe, at Quebec, in 1759, settled the question, once for all, that the French were not to be a ruling nation upon our continent. Then came the decisive straightening out of our relations to England, by which we were free to develop as a nation, while living amicably with Britain as our

northern neighbor. Trades, bickerings, troubles had characterized our forced associations with Spain. In 1846 we had warred against the Spaniards of Mexico and taken California and Texas as our spoils. Florida lay within a hundred miles of Cuba, Spain's most important possession on our side of the globe. Danger lurked in this proximity of another nation, one having reasons for revenge. Conditions on the Island had been such as to make it as dangerous to the peace and health of our Nation, as a loose-living yellow-fever victim would be in a crowded city. The "Cuban Question" had been a perennial problem to American statesmen since 1823, when President Monroe stated his "Doctrine," which, in effect, made it impossible for Cuba to be passed by Spain to any other European country.

The "Doctrine" as applied at its inception was to prevent England, then a strong power, from acquiring the Island from Spain, a weak nation. There was no realization that in Cuba might be developed a diseased section that might later endanger the health of our country, but this very condition came to be. The colonization of the Island had been carried on for revenue only. Prosperity came, but only as based on slavery. It is sometimes forgotten that slavery existed in Cuba as late as 1886, only a little more than a decade before the Spanish-American War. The Negroes far outnumbered the whites. There were practically no modern schools outside of a few of the larger places. Ninety per cent of the people were illiterate. A more enlightening glimpse on the social conditions of the Island, was to be seen in the fact that half of the population were illegitimate.

**Capture of the "Virginius"**—The history of Cuba had been a series of revolts, crushingly put down. The so-called "Wars," of which there had been several, were really only violent guerrilla campaigns, carried on with shocking atrocities on both sides. Intervention by the United States was always feared by Spain and hoped for by the Cubans. Filibustering was a common thing and it was this that came nearest to bringing about intervention. In 1873, the American steamer "Virginius," while engaged in gun-running was sighted and chased by a twin ship, a gun-boat in the Spanish Navy. The "Virginius" was overtaken and captured on the high seas. Forty-one of those on the ship were summarily shot, and among the number were American and English subjects. America and England protested, but in vain as far as this country was concerned. Our navy had been left to rot in our harbors after the Civil War, and we were in no position to enforce any protest, a fact well known to Spain. It was an English war vsssel, the "Niobe," that saved the remaining seamen of the "Virginius," and enabled us to keep out of a war for which we were then unprepared.

Meanwhile, Spain was left to wreak her will in Cuba, and the prosperity of Cuba came to be only a memory. Spain also became more and more contemptuous of America, and more certain that whatever Spain might do, the United States would not dare to interfere. As mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, this contempt found expression through the Spanish minister to this country in a manner that could not be overlooked. The war-ship "Maine" was sent to Havana on a friendly visit to the port. Public opinion had been aroused to a fever heat by the conditions as they existed in Cuba and by the diplomatic difficulties into which our government had been thrust by the publication of the letter.

**The "Maine"**—On Tuesday night, February 15, there were two tremendous explosions deep in the bowels of the "Maine." The ship caught fire, and the great hole in her quarter torn by the explosion led to the rapid sinking of the vessel. Three of her boats were intact, and used before she went under. Boats were put off from other vessels to save the survivors in the water, but two hundred and sixty men, including the officers, Lieutenant Jenkins and Engineer Merritt, were lost. Here was the case of an American Man-of-War that had gone to a Spanish port and had anchored in a spot assigned by Spanish officials. And she had been destroyed at night! Is it surprising that the inevitable conclusion of the people of this country was that here had been treachery of which Spain had been the instigator?

The captain of the "Maine," Sigsbee, cabled as soon as he could reach shore, the details of the accident and added the sentence: "Public opinion should be suspended until further proof." But the circumstances were such that a suspension of popular judgment was impossible. Whether we were prepared for war or not, whether diplomacy could adjust the difficulty that had arisen if given time, no longer mattered. War was inevitable. No matter what might be the findings of the committee of inquiry that was immediately appointed, public opinion had decided the matter, and it was evident that it was only a question of when hostilities would begin.

The historian may point out that it was to our advantage to remove the neighboring plague spot for purposes of safety, he may be able to show that conflict with Spain had been inevitable since we had become a nation, he may point out that the war was the outgrowth of a humanitarian desire to relieve the sufferings of an oppressed people, and to help a country that like ourselves in 1776, were in 1898 engaged in a fight for freedom, but probably the truth of the matter is that the Nation became fighting mad over an accident the responsibility for which has never been placed.

Whatever the motives behind the Spanish-American War, there is no

question that, as usual, we were not prepared. Every effort was made by Congress to delay a declaration of war until the Army and Navy could show some signs of readiness. It was stated, later, by our Minister to Spain, that three days after the destruction of the "Maine" he had been warned that decisive action must be delayed as long as possible because, "there were not on American ships of war, or in the ordnance depots of the United States *two* rounds of powder per gun." The Army was a mere handful; the Navy was an untried weapon; Congress earlier had refused to provide the money for the purchase of guns for merchant vessels secured as auxiliaries; coast defenses had been planned on an elaborate scale, but the penurious handing out of funds had left them unprovided with cannon.

Early in March Congress voted $50,000,000 for National defense. On the twelfth of that same month the Oregon started on her memorable voyage from San Francisco to the Atlantic Coast. So nearly equal were the opposing fleets in the possible war rated, that the presence of just one battleship might be a deciding factor. No less an authority than Captain Mahan wrote, "The force of the Spanish Navy on paper was so nearly equal to our own, that it is well within the limits of possibility that an unlucky incident, the loss, for example, of a battleship, might make the Spaniard superior in nominal, or even in actual, available force." Fortunately the conflict between the two navies was not waged on paper.

On March 24, the Spanish torpedo flotilla assembled at the Cape Verde Islands. Four days later Congress received the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry declaring that the U. S. S. Maine had been destroyed by an exterior explosion. Meanwhile Congress was thrashing old straw, and spending the weeks in violent debate. The President asked Congress, "to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure the full and final termination of the hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure to the island the establishment of a stable government... and to use the naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes." A long and convincing list of promises preceded this request.

On April 20 a resolution was adopted at a joint conference of the two houses of Congress which recited that Spain had waged war on the inhabitants of Cuba for three years without substantial progress; she had conducted the warfare in a manner contrary to the laws of nations and had caused the death of 200,000 non-combatants; had destroyed the property of many American citizens; that a long list of losses and murders, for which Spain was responsible had culminated in the destruction of the "Maine." The resolution empowered the President to at once stop the war in Cuba, "with the purpose of establishing, by the free

action of the people thereof, a stable and independent government of their own." An amendment stated "That the United States disclaims any disposition to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the said island."

**War Declared**—In accordance with the terms of this resolution the President sent to General Woodford, United States Minister to Spain at Madrid, a formal demand that Spain, "should at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters." A response to the ultimatum was requested before April 23. Spain, however, prevented the presentation of the ultimatum by handing General Woodford his passports, and informing him that diplomatic relations between the two countries were at an end. On April 25, Congress declared that a state of war had existed with Spain since April 21.

A comparison of the two belligerents and their resources would be interesting and would not show the overpowering superiority of the United States. We had four times the number of inhabitants, and our resources were in proportion. But Spain had been one of the great nations of the world, and had a very much larger number of trained soldiers, and a navy supposedly our equal. Nominally, Spain had an army of more than a million men; the United States Army consisted of 2,143 officers, and 26,040 enlisted men. In Cuba, Spain, had according to the estimate of General Miles, more than 150,000 men. According to figures reported after the war by a commission, all of which were Americans, arranging for the return of Spanish soldiers to Europe, there were in Cuba 141,000 Spanish regulars, 21,000 volunteers on duty and 52,000 volunteers not on duty, or 214,000 in all. Our army of 28,183 did not loom very large along side of this small colonial force of Spain. Late in April McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers, these being mustered in a little more than a month later. By August, the regulars in the army had been brought up to 56,000; our total soldiery in the Spanish-American War never exceeded a quarter of a million, or about fifty thousand more than those of the enemy in Cuba. Spain had been accustomed to the handling and furnishing of supplies for large bodies of troops. Our War Department was absolutely unready for the arming, clothing, feeding and equipping ten times more than it had ever been called on to do in a full third of a century. The Spaniards were equipped with the, then, modern Mauser rifle, using smokeless powder, having a long range, and shooting five bullets without reloading. America had the ancient Springfield.

In her Navy, Spain had 137 vessels in service as against the 86 of the American Navy. The strength of the Spanish Navy was in her cruiser,

the class of ship most likely to be of use in the war. Figures in this case are of little value, and the strength of the Spanish Navy strong as it was on paper proved to have only the strength of paper in actual conflict. And, for that matter, the Spanish troops in the few engagements in which they participated proved to be undisciplined, badly officered soldiers weakened in morale by their life and failure in the tropics. The above comparisons are made simply to show how America went into the war, practically without an army, with a navy that was untested and without apparent superiority to the enemy. The war of 1898 showed, as did that of 1918, that superiority in war was a matter of money, manufacturing ability, intelligence and organizing power, rather than of individual bravery. Napoleon stigmatized the English as "a nation of shopkeepers," and in that epigram unintentionally indicated the real strength of what we term the Anglo-Saxon races. As phrased by Hiram Maxim, "The complication of modern implements of destruction gives to the highly scientific and mechanical races a marked advantage over the untrained and unscientific nations." It is interesting to note that Maxim's statement was not made after the World War, but was spoken in the last century.

What the Spanish lacked rather than what the Americans had, decided the outcome of the war. It was a blundering affair, particularly as to the management of the volunteer army, in which the United States was the fortunate victor.

**Summary of the War**—Briefly stated the chronology of the Spanish-American War is as follows: On the day April 25, 1898, that a state of war was declared to have been in existence for several days, Admiral Dewey sailed from Hong Kong for Manila. On the 29th the Spanish fleet, under Admiral Cervera, sailed from the Cape Verde Islands—destination unknown. Meanwhile a blockade of Cuba was instituted. Curiously, the first real battle of the war was fought on the other side of the globe among islands that were as far away from the place that was the reason for the conflict as was possible. Dewey entered Manila Bay on the night of April 30, much to the surprise of the Admiral Montojo of the Spanish fleet. With the morning light Dewey attacked; the Spaniards backed by five shore batteries fought bravely but badly. In a few hours the Spanish fleet was destroyed—ten vessels, a number that equalled that of the Americans. Never had a naval force been so completely wiped out by an equal, and never had an attacking force escaped so almost completely unscathed. The astounding inaccuracy of the Spanish gunners was as remarkable as the shooting of these on the ships of the United States. There was not even one seriously hurt on the American vessels. A side light on the means of communication

of that day may be seen in the fact that not until a week later did word get through to this country of the victory, and it was not until five weeks later that a detailed story of the battle was received in America.

The scene shifted to the West Indies before the end of May. Cervera and his fleet had sailed out into the unknown. He was expected in Cuba or Porto Rico by the Naval authorities, but was reported all along the eastern coast of the United States by excited observers. "Phantom fleets" sufficient in number to include the navies of the world put in appearances from Maine to Florida, and the coastal cities were in a constant state of scare until toward the end of May when Cervera's fleet was definitely located in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba and was there blockaded. On June 3, Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson and six volunteers made the hazardous attempt to take an unarmed steamship between the batteries at the mouth of the harbor and sink her crosswise in the channel which at that point was only a few feet wider than the "Merrimac" was long. The attempt was valiantly made but the fire of the forts was too destructive to allow control of the ship and, carried by the tide, she drifted on past the narrow part of the channel and sank where her hull failed to bottle up the Spanish fleet. The exploit was picturesque, even heroic, but a failure, and the squadrons of both Sampson and Schley were needed for a continuous blockade of the port.

General Shafter with some 15,000 troops were sent to take Santiago from the land side and thus drive out Cervera. Concerning that expedition reference will be made later. It was successful, and Cervera was forced to quit the harbor leaving the city to its fate. His intention, no doubt, was to outrun the American fleet, a possibility but not a probability. At nine thirty of July third the flags wigwagged, "Enemy's ships escaping." Within two hours the Spanish fleet had been destroyed almost as completely as had been Admiral Montojo's at Manila. Only the "Colon" had escaped, and she was driven ashore and surrendered shortly after one o'clock. Again the American fleet escaped almost unscathed; one man was killed, and ten wounded. Of the 23,000 men with the Spanish squadron, three hundred and fifty lost their lives; the most of the rest were captured. The escaping squadron numbered almost as many ships as the pursuing fleet; the American vessels were somewhat heavier in arms and armor, but the victory was like that at Manila, one of good gunnery rather than inherent strength. Admiral Camara, had meanwhile left Cadiz with a fleet, but upon the news of the action outside Santiago reaching him, promptly returned to port. Except as the navy assisted the land forces, there was little further activity by our warships for the remainder of the war. The untried fleet, with its thousand of miles of unprotected seacoast to care for, had managed to take the offensive and win two notable victories. The

question of naval superiority had been promptly settled, and a tradition for marksmanship was established which has since been the inspiration of our sea forces.

**The Army**—The story of the American Army and its various adventures is somewhat less colorful, but of even more interest since it affected the nation at large far more than could the Navy. Lacking a sizeable army at the beginning of hostilities, the United States wes dependent upon its volunteer militia. The war of 1898 was both the opportunity and the justification of these local organizations. Outside of the regular army, the companies scattered over the country were the only bodies trained for service. If there were failures, blunders, unnecessary losses in the events that followed the calling out of 125,000 volunteer troops in April, the blame is not to be placed upon the local "militia companies."

**Massachusetts' Part in the War**—Massachusetts, from the early days, had been always ready to send her sons forth to battle for what was believed to be the right. In every time of need, she had not only supplied her quota but did it with a promptitude that placed her troops first in the field. It was so in the Civil War, and it was again true in the Spanish-American War. At first it was the policy of Washington to keep the National Guard of the coastal states at home for the defense of the exposed sea border; militia from the interior States were to be used for foreign service. The plan broke down immediately after war was declared. The local troops of the interior States for the most part were badly equipped, poorly drilled, and with too many unfilled places on their roster. The companies from some States could send to the front less than ten per cent of their supposed numbers. "There was more than one instance of a regiment's ignominiously turning tail when asked to face something more than a flutter of handkerchiefs and a brass band." The Commonwealth had been steadily weeding out the "parade soldier" from its guards. When troops were asked for, Massachusetts had them. The main difficulty was not in sending the required quota, but to select from a too great supply those who should go. Further, the State was more nearly ready than most, to equip its soldiery; one of the regiments sent being the first, and for some time the only regiment, dressed in khaki. There was many a regiment from other States that had nothing but their heavy winter wool uniforms, even when located in some of the most southern camps in the United States.

Because of the readiness of Massachusetts troops, they were the first to be sent to the front. Because they were better armed, better equipped, better trained, they saw more service in the West Indies than the

soldiers of any other State. Six regiments and a naval brigade were mustered in Massachusetts. One regiment was used for coast defense, the First Heavy Artillery, who had been specially trained for just that work. Of the four summoned on the first call of the Government, three saw active service and all saw foreign service, a record not equaled by any other State. Middlesex men were to be found in all of the regiments, and one, the Sixth, was made up for the most part of residents of the county. There were companies from the county in the First Artillery, the Fifth Infantry, and the Eighth Infantry.

Before entering upon any discussion of the part played by residents of the county, let us note the chronology of the war from the standpoint of the land forces of the United States engaged, emphasis being given to that which relates to Massachusetts. On April 15, the Legislature of the Commonwealth appropriated $500,000 for local defense and the equipment of her troops. All through the month, the commanders of the different military organizations in the State were tendering the services of their troops. On the 23rd, President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers. On the 25th, Governor Wolcott received the notification from the Secretary of War regarding the quota to be furnished by Massachusetts. Four infantry regiments were desired and one of heavy artillery. The commanders of the Second, Sixth, Eighth and Ninth met in Boston on April 28 to confer with the Governor. Meanwhile, the First Artillery had assembled in Boston (April 26) ninety-nine per cent complete, was reviewed by the Governor and by noon had reached their station. The Sixth had arrived in camp at Framingham (April 26) claiming credit as the first regiment to report; the Eighth arrived in Framingham a few days later.

May saw the mustering in of the volunteer troops from all over the United States, and their establishment in the camps of various parts of the southern States. On May 25, President McKinley called for 75,000 additional volunteers, and on that same date the first military expedition started from San Francisco for Manila.

**Entrance Santiago Harbor**—Early in June elaborate preparations were under way for the transportation from Tampa, Florida, of 25,000 men to attack Santiago de Cuba. By the eleventh some of the Marines had been landed at Guantanamo, but only a small force, however. After embarking and re-embarking, General Shafter actually did land his expedition at Baiquiri on the 22nd. Minor engagements followed along the shores, but no real resistance was met until turning in on the road to Santiago there was a skirmish at Las Guasimas, and first blood was drawn, the Rough Riders suffering most severely. The American loss was sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded.

July ushered in the best fighting done by the Spaniards in the whole war, when on the first they held the village Caney for ten hours against greatly superior forces. It is true that they were strongly entrenched, some of their outworks being cut in solid rock, but General Lawton had ten times the number of troops than had General Vara del Rey who was killed in the battle with two of his sons. More than half of the Spanish defenders lost their lives, and only about a hundred escaped capture. But credit must be given to Lawton and his men, for, under the severest conditions, undergoing their first test, there was no faltering or drawing back. The American losses were 453 killed and wounded. The Second Massachusetts were a part of this division, but because they were equipped with Springfields using non-smokeless powder, they could be used only sparingly. The smoke of their fire so outlined their position that they drew upon themselves and those associated with them so frightful a return as to be murderous. Through no lack of valor, the Second was withdrawn and held in reserve.

The Battle of San Juan followed almost immediately, July 1, or may be said to have happened simultaneously. Lawton had been given two hours in which to complete his capture of Caney, but the ten-hour resistance so delayed him that the struggle at San Juan began without the support he was expected to give. The Spaniards were intrenched in a strong position and had all the advantage of the hilly terrain. It is possible that Shafter did not contemplate a serious battle on that day. Conflicting orders were given all through the affair and Shafter came under severe criticism later. Much of the heavy artillery had not been brought up, and there had been no careful reconnaisance made of the ground. But it is to be remembered that he was a very stout man of 61, suffering from gout and heat. He had to work through others, and the dangers of the tropics in the rainy season were probably greater than warfare. As Shafter said himself, "It was a dash or nothing." Blunders were many, but the taking of San Juan was done successfully, so much may be forgotten or forgiven.

The battle was a straight attack, mostly up hill against fortified block houses and strong entrenchments. A few narrow roads gave the means of approach, the forest being heavy enough to make it all but unusable, and proved to be a very fine cover for "snipers" of the Spaniards. Upon the troops of Kent and Wheeler fell the brunt of the affray; it is estimated that their divisions lost a thousand men in getting into a position from which they could attack in force. The plan seems to have been to surround and take Fort San Juan, a large brick block-house on a high ridge, along whose crest ran four long trenches protected by barbed wire. After a severe fight, this was taken by the men under General Kent. The capture of San Juan Heights on July 1, and the part taken

by Colonel Roosevelt and the Rough Riders has been told too often to require repetition. It was a dashing affair, boldly carried out, and brought glory to the American arms. The casualties were large, the largest during the war, 151 killed and more than 1,000 wounded.

It seemed hardly possible for the Americans to hold the line they had won and established. But while a retreat to a safer position was being considered, a bold demand for the surrender of Santiago was made under a threat of bombardment. The bold tactics won. Cervera and his fleet left the harbor and were destroyed. After days of negotiations, General Shafter and General Toral met on the morning of July 17, under a great silk-cotton tree, where Toral yielded the City and Province of Santiago to the authority of the United States. This was virtually the end of the warfare between Spain and America. General Miles was sent to Porto Rico with forces that included the Sixth Massachusetts, to capture and hold the island. A landing was made at Guanica on July 25; Ponce was captured on the 27th; in little more than two weeks, the Americans had taken more than a third of Porto Rico with the loss of only three men killed and forty wounded. After a number of further engagements, the troops were still on their triumphal march when the Peace protocol was signed, August 12, and hostilities ceased. Meanwhile, General Merritt had arrived in the Philippines, and Manila had surrendered on August 13, this, however, being little more than a formality since Dewey had been in control since May.

One of the principal assistants in the reduction of Manila was Aguanaldo, he who was later to cause the United States so much trouble in the management of the Philippines. The seat of the Spanish power in the east fell almost without a blow, and with it were taken 13,000 prisoners of war, 22,000 small arms, 70 modern and several hundred obsolete pieces of artillery, and a public fund of $900,000.

**Santiago Surrendered**—During July, after Cervera's fleet had been wiped out, Santiago about to be taken, and the troop ships were loading soldiers by the thousand for a campaign in Porto Rico; when all hope of saving Manila had been abandoned, and even Spain seemed in danger of direct attack, Spain asked for peace through the French ambassador. The American conditions were promptly given. Spain was to renounce all sovereignity over Cuba, cede Porto Rico and one of the Ladrone Islands to the United States, "possession" of the Philippines was to rest with America. In the final settlement there were only minor changes of these demands except that $10,000,000 was given for the Philippines to save the face of the Spanish peace commissioners. On December 10, 1898, the treaty was signed by which Cuba was freed, and a colonial empire was transferred from an ancient monarchy to a lusty

republic, blessings, no doubt, to the peoples of the islands, but hardly to the "lusty republic."

**Results of Warfare**—A record of the battles won and lost, of the causes of the conflict, of the results in the way of possessions gained or given, must always be made in the account of any war. But after all it is not these things that are of the greater importance; rather it is how the war touched the people of the Nation, what changes it wrought in their lives, how it influenced the development of the country. The events of the greatest importance were ones that occurred in the United States. The test made of our National Guard scheme of soldier training; the failures and successes of our handling of troops under the stress of the unexpected demand; the readiness, or lack of it, of the residents of the United States to come to the call of their government, and to stand by through dark days and bright; the cementing of the Nation in a common endeavor, rather the making of a Nation out of many races; these are the real results of warfare.

Perhaps a better conception of what the Spanish-American War meant to this country can be gotten by a consideration of the history of one of the regiments that was formed and sent forth from Massachusetts. Any of the several so organized in the Commonwealth might serve, but, since it had the largest representation of Middlesex County men in it, the Sixth Massachusetts will be chosen. Its story is a typical one, for like most of the volunteer organizations in the war, its battles were few and practically bloodless, most of its service time was spent in the United States, its casualties were not those of the bullet but of disease. Most of the months under arms were spent in a land of plenty, but deprived of the things they needed. Anxious to be of use, the regiment was shifted from post to post, and when finally the regiment was transported to the front, because of its obsolete weapons, it had to be kept from the front lines. The experience of the Sixth was typical, in that its greatest battles were fought against disease. But the Sixth was far more fortunate than many, in that it actually did get abroad, and saw more real war than a majority of the militia of the rest of the country.

"First in the field" was the motto of the "Old Sixth," and as worthy successors, the 6th Massachusetts U. S. V. was the first regiment reporting to the Adjutant General of Massachusetts as being ready for service. Oddly enough it was the 6th of May when the regiment made camp at Framingham, there to await orders. It was made up of twelve companies from the following towns and cities, the most of which are in Middlesex County: Company A, Wakefield; Companies B and D of Fitchburg, Companies C and G, Lowell; Company E, South Framing-

ham; Company F of Marlborough; Company H of Stoneham; Company I of Concord; Company K of Southbridge; Company L of Boston; and Company M of Milford. Although the companies are named by towns, the members of them came from all parts of the county. They were from all ranks of life and college men were well represented.

**Sixth Massachusetts Regiment**—The towns from which the various companies came, vied with each other in the fervor of the ovations given the "boys." And wherever the regiment showed itself they were greeted with cheers. Like the famous Sixth of Civil War fame, this Sixth had to pass through Baltimore. But how different was the greeting! They had been met with brick-bats and guns. Some had been killed and many were injured. But the Sixth of 1898 were received with an overwhelming enthusiasm. Nothing was too good for the tired soldiers; the key of the city was theirs. The reception of the Massachusetts regiment was the most dramatic event of the War in the States. It showed that a new National spirit had arisen. A new North and South had been born and joined in a bond that was indissoluble.

Then to Washington and Camp Alger, and the rigors of war began to be felt in many ways, some of which seemed very unimportant at first. Take the matter of water and food. Pure water was hard to secure; it thereafter was nearly always hard to procure. Its lack followed the Sixth all through its career, and the shortage led to carelessness in drinking that had its aftermath in typhoid. So with food. The army ration was good enough for those accustomed to it, especially as used by the regulars well reinforced by fresh fruits and vegetables. But the demand for these later articles was too great for the supply and the "canned horse," the principal meat, not only was upsetting as supplied but in the haste to turn out a sufficient supply, too much of it was of beef unfit for human consumption, and took its toll from the ranks of the soldiers. It proved more deadly than the gun of the Spaniard. In the long days of confinement aboard ship (later) much of this canned meat was fed to the sharks of the Caribbean, leading, so it is said, to a great mortality, that led to the rapid depletion of the shark crop.

At Camp Alger the Sixth was joined by the Ninth Massachusetts, but they were not long allowed to remain together. Recruits also were added, bringing the regiment up to full war strength of 1327. Then it was on to Charlestown, South Carolina, where the men expected to embark for Cuba, but where they spent, instead, a dreary time sleeping on the docks, stifling in the heat, suffering for water. But finally the regiment was put on board the "Yale," the transport

which was to be its home for some weeks. This was on July 8, more than two months after it had gone into camp at Framingham.

The destination was Santiago de Cuba where the American lines were being drawn closer and closer about the fortifications. The Sixth was to take over one of the most dangerous sectors of the lines, and to be in the front of the final attack. The "Yale" drew in opposite Siboney. General Miles went ashore. Shortly after the flames could be seen arising from one quarter of the town, and soon had enveloped the whole place. The soldiers read the signs. The deadly Yellow Jack was there and the village had been burned because the fever was more to be feared than the Spanish. There was no landing of troops that day nor for several. Before any were put ashore, Santiago surrendered, and it was deemed wise to keep the Sixth aboard the "Yale" until the details of the further movements of the Army could be worked out.

The "Yale" was a passenger ship built to care for five hundred; she had fifteen hundred aboard, the whole of the Sixth and a company from the 6th Illinois. The cooking for these thirteen companies had to be done in a steerage galley eight by sixteen feet, and the provisions, such as they were, had been packed in the most inaccessible depths of the hold. Originally, the plan had been for four days on the transport; the actual time was eighteen. Half starved and thirsty, exposed to the weather, which was burning hot through the day and broken by tropical rains at night, without room for exercise, it is not surprising that the health of the regiment broke down with a rapidity that alarmed the doctors of the ship.

Eventually the "Yale" and other transports sailed for Porto Rico, where at Guanica on July 24 and 25 the soldiers disembarked. General Miles had called the officers of the Sixth together and informed them: "There was great work cut out for them; that the most honorable position was theirs, but also the post of the greatest danger. The regiment was to force a landing and hold it against every assault until reinforcements arrived, and he hoped they would go forward without flinching against everything they met."

The landing was a surprise to the inhabitants of the town, who fled with little resistance. But the next day the troops ran into a Spanish ambuscade, and the regiment had a chance to show its mettle under fire. Men from companies A, L and K were wounded, and two of the officers were cited for "gallantry under fire." These were Major C. K. Darling and Captain Edward J. Gibson, Company A, one of those wounded. This first affair was both exciting and amusing, but "made" the soldiers as fighters. Yauco, Tallaboa, Ponce, Adjuntas, these are

all names familiar to the marching Sixth, and are remembered rather for the wearisomness of the march than for the skirmishes. Underfed, under-exercised, it is not to be wondered at that nearly a half of the regiment were more fit for the hospital than making a hurry raid through a tropical island. Ponce and Utuado are recalled as the places where there was a wholesale resignation of officers and the appointing of Colonel Edmund Rice the head of the regiment. Colonel Rice was a native of Cambridge, who had won great honor for himself in the Civil War, and the Sixth were very fortunate to secure such a leader. And it was at Utuado that the regiment was held by "Orders" until well on into October, when several of the companies went ahead to take over Areciebo and other towns, and later to Don Juan.

The war had ended. Porto Rico had been subdued with little actual loss from gunfire, three killed and forty wounded. The campaign, although not having the publicity given it that other army events received, was an important one, well carried out from the military standpoint. But the price paid for the unreadiness of this country, the blunders in the matter of care and clothes and provision, was far greater than any soldiery should have been called on to bear. Twenty-seven of the Sixth paid with their lives, the most of these from preventable causes, not one being lost in battle. And this story could be told of regiments that never had the opportunity to leave the States. It is a sad blemish on the war record of our Nation.

The Sixth sailed from Ponce on October 21st, fortunately on a better ship, and receiving better treatment than on the remembered "Yale." The greeting given the returning regiment at Boston, and repeated in the towns from which the separate companies had come, made it forget the hardships and neglect that it had borne. The regiment only mustered nine hundred and twenty-five men. On January 21 the Sixth was mustered out of the service. When it left Porto Rico, General Brooke said: "I am sorry to have you go. I shall miss the finest regiment in Porto Rico." In his annual message, Governor Wolcott had the last words, the conclusion of his reference being "the regiment won a reputation for soldiery, discipline and efficiency worthy of its historic past."

Any of the other regiments going from the Commonwealth might have been singled out for a brief story of its career. As a Middlesex body of troops this was chosen. Others, notably the Ninth, Second and First, all played their parts, but principally in the United States. They had their losses, and suffered as did most others in the camps. The famous First Artillery, dating from 1784, was used for coast defense and had to endure the monotony of garrison life, with none of the ex-

citements or rewards that came to others leaving the State. We had four thousand miles of unprotected coast, and until the collapse of the Spanish Navy outside Santiago, it was vitally necessary that such fortifications as we had should be manned. In this latter duty Massachusetts supplied half of the heavy volunteer batteries that were recruited during the war.

Much of any story of the Spanish-American War must be a record of the havoc caused in the ranks by disease. It was manifestly impossible for this country to enter unprepared upon a war, and not pay heavily for its unreadiness. No army could be multiplied several fold and not create conditions that could not at once be remedied. Always it was necessary for private citizens to come to the aid of a harrassed government, and this was done in Massachusetts by the forming of the Volunteer Aid Association. The membership in this body was made up, second only to Boston, from Middlesex County people.

**Hospital Ships**—The Government was asked what could be done; meanwhile the gathering of funds was carried on. Upon being told, the most strenuous efforts were made to get and to send all manner of supplies to the soldiers and to the hospitals. Arrangements were made for the reception of those invalided home. A most notable set of men were enlisted as leaders in the Aid movement, and on the Executive Committee of ten were several from the county. The work was partitioned off by towns, each having its officials. Nearly a quarter of a million dollars was subscribed for a beginning. The Government having only two hospital ships, it was thought wise for the Aid Association to buy another. The Commonwealth, however, bought the "Bay State" and loaned it to the organization. The ship was promptly rebuilt for hospital use, and to carry supplies to the soldiers in the West Indies. Her first trip was to Cuba, where the "Bay State" left much needed provisions for the men there, and returned with 98 men from the Ninth Massachusetts. Her second trip was to Porto Rico, bringing back 189 of the Sixth Volunteers. The third and last was to Arecibo and Ponce, from where she returned with 136, mostly from the Sixth. All the work aboard the vessel was done by volunteers, from the medical staff down to the dishwashers.

Although the "Bay State" did the most conspicuous of the work of the Volunteer Aid Association, it was only a part of a larger program. There were many camps in this country where the men were in need of what the War Department was too busy to do. Supplies lacking were provided. The sick and well were aided in getting in communication with the anxious folk back home. If a Massachusetts man was sent to a hospital, the fact was not only known but individual watch was kept

over him, and news of his condition given to the ones interested. Returned soldiers were received and assisted in every way possible. Many were half sick, penniless, and without immediate work. These men were given a temporary home until returned to their regiment, or provided with work if discharged and needy. And there were many other ways in which the Association helped. Massachusetts was the first State to form such an organization and it was the model after which other associations patterned. Not until April 20, 1899, did it feel that its work had been completed and the organization disbanded. The Ladies' Committee was particularly efficient. A list of supplies collected by them was as varied at the contents of a department store. Every town in Middlesex County had one or more collecting depots, and the places to which supplies were forwarded included those from Maine to Manila.

As one looks back upon it since the World War, the Spanish-American event seems but a small affair, and comparatively it was. But when this country was unexpectedly thrust into the larger and later event, who would say that the lessons of the Spanish-American War were not the ones that enabled this country to do as well and so quickly the larger task? Blunders were made again, but not the same or as many. We were unprepared, but 1898 had taught the way to overcome the lack of readiness. In the larger aspect, the possessions acquired from the Spaniards had trained the government in world politics and understanding. The treatment of conquered or surrendered peoples had impressed the world with our disinterestedness as a warring nation.

# CHAPTER XI

## HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The history and environment of Harvard University have been described as follows:

Harvard University, founded as a college in 1636, was for over half a century, until the founding in 1693 of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, the only college in the country. The name of the town where it was established was changed from Newtowne to Cambridge in honor of the English university where many of the leading colonists had been educated. Although only three miles inland on the banks of the Charles, Cambridge was at that time a frontier settlement, a fact of which there is still lingering evidence in the clumps of willows, sprouts from the old stockade against the Indians, standing in a part of the college grounds.

The College is the centre of Old Cambridge. From it westward and northward run the three principal streets, Brattle Street, past the houses of Longfellow and Lowell; Garden Street, past the site of the elm under which Washington first reviewed the American army, and past the Observatory and the Botanic Garden; and Massachusetts Avenue, leading to Lexington and Concord, the road along which the British soldiers retreated after the first battle of the Revolution. Near where Garden Street and Massachusetts Avenue separate, on Holmes Place, stood the house in which were the headquarters of General Ward and of the Committee of Public Safety in 1775, and in which Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was born. On the neighboring stretch of green, in front of the present Harvard Law School, Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College, that "hotbed of sedition," offered prayer on the evening of June 16, 1775, for the Continental troops there assembled under Colonel Prescott and about to march to Bunker Hill. Across the street is a group of buildings, Massachusetts, Harvard, and Hollis Halls, and little Holden Chapel, which date back to pre-Revolutionary times. During one period of the Revolution the College was removed to Concord, and these buildings were used as quarters for the Continental Army.

The Harvard University Library, the main collection of which is housed in the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Building, is in size the third library in the country—the Library of Congress being first. It contains at present about 2,416,000 books and pamphlets.

The general statistics of the University are as follows: Its material resources are represented by an invested, income-bearing endowment of over sixty-three million dollars, and buildings, laboratories and museums, valued at over twenty million dollars. The grounds for instruction and research, and for the use of the students, include 102 acres in Cambridge for varied University purposes; 63 acres across the river in Boston for athletic purposes; 66 acres for the Business School; 12 acres for the Medical School buildings in Boston; 328 acres for applied biology, arboriculture, horticulture, and allied subjects, in Jamaica Plain, a suburb of Boston; 700 acres for the Summer Engineering School on Squam Lake in the foothills of the White Mountains; and 2,100 acres, the Harvard Forest, at Petersham, for

field work in forestry; a total of more than 3,370 acres. To this list may be added the Arequipa Observatory in Peru.

On the staff of the University there are 1,171 officers of instruction, and 182 administrative officers, preachers, curators, etc. Not counting the students in the Summer Schools (2,851), or the students in Radcliffe College (987 women), the number of students in Harvard University at the time of the issue of the Catalogue of 1925-26 was 7,176.

The rooms of the college buildings have associations with the student days of Rufus Choate, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, Wendell Phillips, William Fitzhugh Lee; of the historians, John Lothrop Motley, Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, and William H. Prescott; of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes; of Edward Everett Hale and Phillips Brooks, and many other men of note. The Harvard Memorial Society has made these associations more real and personal by posting in each room a printed list of the occupants from the beginning.

**Settlement of Newtowne, Afterward Cambridge**—In 1631 a settlement, intended to become the seat of government, was founded opposite Boston with the name of Newtowne. Governor John Winthrop and several of his assistants built their homes here, and there was every prospect of the new town becoming the political center of the Massachusetts Colony. As President Calvin Coolidge has said: "A higher power than the agreement of men had decreed that the chief authority to be vested in the years to come should not be over the political domain of a colony but over the mightier domain of science, letters and arts."

The General Court assembled on September 8, 1636, passed on October 28 the following resolutions: "The court agree to give Four Hundred Pounds toward a School or College, whereof Two Hundred Pounds shall be paid the next year, and Two Hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next court to appoint where and what building." The next year the general court voted that the college "is ordered to be at Newtowne and that Newtowne be henceforth called Cambridge." Twelve of the leading men of the colony were appointed to "take order for a college at Newtowne, among the names of these were Governor Winthrop; Shepherd, Cotton and Wilson of the clergy; and Stoughton and Dudley among the laymen. The name Cambridge was given in memory of the University town in England and from which many of the colonists came.

**Gift of John Harvard**—This official organization of the college really meant very little, and the whole scheme seemed doomed to failure. But as John Winthrop relates; "It pleased God to stir the heart of one John Harvard, a Godly gentleman and lover of learning, then living among us, to bequeath the one half of his estate . . . toward the erection of the college, and all of his library."

John Harvard was a young dissenting minister, who, having taken

his degree at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1637, came to the Colony, settled at Charlestown, and died in 1638. Of his estate the College received nearly £400, and a library of 260 books, the most of which were theological. In recognition of this gift, the General Court, in March, 1639, provided that the school at Cambridge should be called Harvard College. In that same year a printing press arrived in this country which was shortly after the possession of the college. On it the first book printed in America was struck off, a metrical version of the Psalms.

The example of John Harvard was even more valuable than his bequest, for the Colony was stirred into a furore of giving to the new institution. The magistrates donated books to the value of 200; individual gifts from £40 down to shillings were turned in, sheep, cotton, household articles and silverware were among the many gifts. They were not a rich people, but they gave in proportion to their possessions.

The first building to be devoted to college teaching was erected in 1637 by Nathaniel Eaton, probably near the site of Wadsworth House. It had a high fence around it enclosing about an acre of land. Eaton had for students, according to Governor Winthrop "many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of the best note." But complaint was made that the food was bad, and punishments severe, and Eaton was dismissed and fined by the court in September of 1639.

The next year, 1640, marks the real beginning of the unbroken history of Harvard University. This marked the placing of Reverend Henry Dunster, "a learned, conscionable and industrious man" in charge. Under his leadership so rapid an advance was made that in 1642 the General Court established the "Overseers of Harvard College." By this act the oversight of the affairs of the school was divided between State and clergy, but a lack of clearness in the definition of the duties of each led to the changing of that law. Accordingly, on May 31, 1650, was granted the "Charter of the President and Fellows of Harvard College."

This Charter was amended in October 14, 1657, and the government it formulated is practically the form of control under which the University still operates and is worthy of further attention. By it the Corporation was established to consist of a "President, five Fellows and a Treasurer" to be in fact and name one body corporate in law. The Corporation had the power to elect persons to fill vacancies in its own body, to appoint and remove officers or servants of the College; to administer finances, but in all cases the concurrence of the Overseers was necessary. The appendix of 1657 gave the Corporation the power to carry on the work of the College, as they shall see cause, without depending of the consent of the Overseers, provided the Corporation unto... the Overseers, according to their discretion."

The Corporation, therefore was the body that shaped the policy, executes it, and administers the funds, the Overseers approving or disapproving. Seemingly this was an ideal method of organization, but the immediate future of the College was one long warfare between these two part of one body.

Possibly the intense theological feeling of the day had most to do with the disputes and difficulties that later arose in the administration of the College affairs.

**Electing a President**—Certainly it was this religious temper that ousted the first President. He openly opposed the baptism of children and by it so aroused the wrath of the Pedo-baptists that he was eventually compelled to resign in October, 1654. He died a few months later at Scituate.

Rev. Charles Chauncy was his successor, a former Professor of Trinity College, Cambridge. He held many beliefs contrary to those of the Colony, but promised "To forbear to dessiminate or publish anything" on "certain tenets." There followed lean years for both President and students. It was the period of the restoration of the Stuarts in England, and the colonies on this side of the water feared lest their liberties might be taken from them. They had little time or money to devote to learning. The General Court gave no help, and it was only through private subscriptions that the College survived. In 1672, a new building was begun, but was not finished until a decade later.

On the death of President Chauncy, Leonard Hoar, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1650, succeeded him in July, 1672. Dismissed by the Court "without further hearing" in 1675, Rev. Uriah Oakes served as Superintendent and President until he died in 1681. The presidency of the college seems to have been shunned by a number during the next few years. No fewer than four declined to serve, Rev. John Roger acted but for one year, 1683-4, after which Rev. Increase Mather took office on June 11, 1685. He was "one of the most conspicuous men in the Colony" but seems to have little interest in the school. In all the sixteen years he served as President, only a few weeks of it were actually spent in Cambridge. Because of his non-residency he was dismissed in 1701, to be followed by Rev. Samuel Willard who filled the chair until his death in 1717.

The Charter of 1650 was revived in 1707 through the influence of Governor Dudley, of whom Quincy says, "of all the statesmen who have been instrumental in promoting the interests of Harvard College, he was the most influential in giving its constitution a permanent character." In 1692 the English sovereigns, William and Mary, gave a new charter to the Colony which converted it into a Province. It made "property,

instead of church membership the qualifications for the enjoyment of civil rights." The Puritans could not resist this change of policy in the civil government, but they did prevent for some time a change coming into the government of the College. An attempt was made by Increase and Cotton Mather to insert a religious test into the Charter, and it was their failure in this that led to the founding of the rival college of Yale, in 1700. The Corporation was, from now on, Liberals; the Overseers Calvinists, bringing about an opposition of interest that greatly impeded the progress of Harvard.

A new factor was coming into prominence near the close of the century, which gradually changed the character of the college. Private donations were exceeding the income provided by the State, an evidence that its importance was being recognized by the community. It also made possible a greater freedom from the interference by the civil authorities. After the first building of Eaton's in 1637, the next was the President's House erected by Dunster, the third being the First Harvard Hall dedicated in 1682. The last of the century a hall was built by Governor Stoughton at his own expense in 1699. This was placed near the present site of the University.

Rev. John Leverett was elected President in 1707. He was an energetic administrator, a strong character, working solely for the benefit of the college. But as such he was in constant difficulties with the Overseers. One of these quarrels grew out of the acceptance of an endowment by Thomas Hollis, the next greatest after John Harvard, of the early benefactors of the college. Hollis founded a chair of Divinity, making no restrictions save that the professor should subscribe to the belief that, "the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the perfect rule of faith and manners." But because he was a Baptist in membership, the gift almost was refused by the Overseers lest it encourage un-orthodoxy.

President Leverett died a poor man in 1724, to be succeeded by Benjamin Wadsworth in June, 1725. Wadsworth House was built at this time and named after its first occupant. In 1727, Thomas Hollis endowed a professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, this being only another of the many benefactions continued by himself and descendants for more than half a century. President Wadsworth died in March, 1737. During the thirty years from 1706 to 1736 there were 719 Bachelors graduated from Harvard, the smallest number being in the class of 1713, which was 5; the largest was that of 1725 with 45.

Rev. Edward Holyoke became President in May of 1737 and was the first to serve for any great length of years—thirty-two. He was also the first to be elected unanimously. And his inauguration into office on September 28, 1737, was with the most elaborate ceremonies.

These were the days of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitfield. Edwards had thrown New England into a panic by his brimstone creed and preaching. And Whitfield found the field ripe for a series of remarkable "revivals." Harvard, of course, came within his ken, and received a most thorough condemnation for its supposed "Godlessness." President Holyoke and others of his staff were kept busy refuting these charges. Curiously enough the net result of the "revivals" and the attendent controversies was a tolerance of all religions and sects.

Among the calamities occurring during the presidency of Holyoke, possibly the greatest was the burning of Harvard Hall. Smallpox had become epidemic in Boston, so that the Legislature met in Cambridge, using the Hall for its sessions. On February 2, 1764, a fire broke out in the Library and had spread beyond control before being discovered. It not only completely destroyed the building in which it started but threatened all the other halls. The Legislature voted £2,000 for replacement, and gifts of books, apparatus and money came from all parts of the Colonies and the mother country. But the most regrettable loss was the destruction of John Harvard's books, whereby "all personal relations to posterity of the founder were swept away." Two other buildings were added during President Holyoke's term, Hollis Hall, dedicated in January, 1764, and a chapel, the gift of a Mrs. Holden. The will of Thomas Hancock bequeathed funds to establish a professorship of Hebrew and the Oriental languages, the first to be founded by an American.

Rev. Samuel Locke of Shelburne became president after the death of Holyoke in June, 1769. His record as a "friend of liberty" probably was the reason for his election, the question of taxation by England being the dominant question of that day. In December, 1773, Locke resigned, and Rev. Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth was selected for the presidency, July 18, 1774. The Colonies being at war the college was greatly interfered with by the necessities of the time. The Massachusetts militia was quartered in the buildings in 1775-6. And in December of 1777 they were again taken for the quartering of the prisoners taken with Burgoyne. One of the important events of Langdon's presidency was the creation of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in which the charter of the College was confirmed, and enlarged.

Despite the interruptions of the Revolution, Harvard more than held her own as far as the number of students is concerned, but its revenues fell off sadly. What was worse, Continental currency was so near to worthless that in November, 1780, the price of the Corporation dinner was $52.61 per person. This period marked the turning point in the history of the College, for never after the Revolution did it depend

PRESIDENT LOWELL'S RESIDENCE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

greatly upon the support of the State. Never from the first grant of £400 in 1636 had the Legislature voted anything like adequate funds for the work of the school. No president or teacher had been paid a sufficient salary to support them in decency. Private gifts exceeded at times the grants of the State. And after the Revolution there was a looking to the people for support, and from this time Harvard began a remarkable advance.

In December, 1781, Rev. Joseph Willard succeeded President Langdon. Hampered from the beginning by the financial status of the College, his position was made particularly difficult. John Hancock had been made treasurer in 1773, and although a noted and wealthy man, had so tangled up the finances of the College that even he could not or would not endeavor to straighten them out. Such moneys as he had received he neither accounted for nor returned. Meanwhile an endeavor was being made to have the General Court provide needed funds, but without success.

Despite difficulties, President Willard brought about several wise changes in the policy and progress of the school. The English system of reckoning was dropped; the standard of scholarship raised; the Medical School was founded; four scholarships were added, E. Hersey, Alford, A. Hersey and Erving. The largest class so far graduated was in 1804, numbering 61.

President Willard died in September, 1804, and two years passed before the election of his successor, Rev. Samuel Webber. In 1780, the original Stoughton Hall was demolished because of its decayed condition and another Stoughton Hall to replace it was completed in 1805. Sir Matthew Holworthy Hall was built in 1813. In 1806, John Quincy Adams was appointed the first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.

The next President of Harvard was Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, elected in 1810. His presidency marks the expansion of Harvard from a college to a University. He seemingly was the first President to "recognize the distinction between a college and a university, he showed that he believed that Harvard should and could fulfil the duties of a University; and he devoted all his energy towards this expansoin." He was instrumental in the erection of Holworthy Hall, the original Medical School. He saw the addition of five professorships: Eliot, Rumford, Royall, Smith and Dane. In 1815 University Hall was completed at an expense of $65,000. And the University received its last subsidy from the State in 1814, a sum of $10,000 annually for ten years.

President Kirkland, suffering from paralysis, resigned in 1828, and his successor, Josiah Quincy, was appointed in 1829, remaining in office until 1845. He became known as the "Organizer of the University," and

during his term several schools and professorships were founded, among the latter being: Natural History by Fisher; History by McLean; Eloquence by Parkman; and Astronomy and Mathematics also by Parkman. In 1829 a library was built from a legacy of Christopher Gore of $73,000, and a fund subscribed for the purchase of books. In 1832, a Law School building was erected at the expense of Nathan Dane. In this same year William Cranch Bond brought all his apparatus to Cambridge and was appointed Astronomical Observer to the University. In August the capital of the University was given as $646,235.17, and the average graduating class as 56. One of the most interesting events of Quincy's term was the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of Harvard on September 8, 1836.

Hon. Edward Everett, in 1845, became president for the next three years. During this time, the College House, 1846; the Observatory, 1846; the Lawrence School of Science, 1848, were added and the professorship of Anatomy (Parkman) founded.

Jared Sparks, the historian, served the University from 1849 to 1853. He was followed by Rev. James Walker from 1853 to 1860. There were added through these years three professorships, Astronomy by Philips in 1849; Christian Morals by Plummer in 1855; clinic by Jackson in 1859. Appleton Chapel was built in 1858 and the old Gymnasium in 1859. A new house for the president was also constructed in 1860. Perhaps the most notable event was the erection of the first division of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy made possible by the labors of Professor Louis Agassiz, in 1859.

Professor Cornelius Felton, eminent Greek scholar, was in the president's chair from 1860 to 1862, when he was followed by Rev. Thomas Hill. Two things mark his administration; the changes he initiated in the methods of instruction with the intent to change the college to a University; and the severance of all connection between Harvard and the State. Gray's Hall was built and the introduction of University Lecture came during his tenure of office. It is to be remembered that this was the period of the Civil War, and Harvard suffered the set-backs attendent upon such a calamity.

**Charles W. Eliot Elected President**—May 19, 1869, marks the beginning of one of the most remarkable administrations in the history of the University, for it was upon that date that Charles William Eliot was elected to the presidency. It is, of course, too early to attempt any full appreciation of the services rendered by him, not only to Harvard, but to higher education everywhere. But it is not too soon to note a few of the transformations he worked in the University; rather, in his transformation of the college to a University. The first two decades of his presi-

dency were largely given to organization, and while this work still went on throughout all his incumbency, much of his latter years were spent in consolidation of the advances he had led.

One of the most radical changes he made was the adoption of the Elective System, heretofore rejected. Voluntary attendance at College exercises was allowed, both of the changes beginning with the senior classes, but finally coming down through the others to the freshman. The Law and Medical Schools were revived and the length of their course increased to three years. New life was injected into the Divinity and Science Schools and the Schools of Veterinary Medicine, the Bussey Institution, the Arnold Arboretum, the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and the transference of the Museum of Comparative Zoology were all events occurring during the first twenty years. These and the many other changes and evidences of the marked development under President Eliot will be summarized later. Teachers' salaries were increased, and a system of pensions worked out, and a leave of absence every seventh year was granted to professors. Summer Schools were maintained, schemes for examinations to be held in places other than Cambridge were instituted, the first being at Cincinnati; lectures rather than recitations became the mode of instruction.

From 1869 to 1889 the capital resources of Harvard expanded from $2,257,989.80 and an income of $270,404.63 to $6,874,046.25 from which the income was $913,824.72. Five dormitories were built: Thayer Hall, the gift of Nathaniel Thayer in 1870; Holyoke erected by the Corporation, in 1871 Matthews Hall the gift of Nathan Matthews and Weld Hall, the gift of William F. Weld, both in 1872; and Hastings Hall, the gift of Walter Hastings in 1889. An addition to the Library in 1877, more than doubled its capacity. Austin Hall, 1883, and Sever Hall, 1880, the Jefferson Physical Laboratory, 1883, as well as many enlargements of existing buildings were all completed in the first two decades of President Eliot's term in office.

The appointment of Charles W. Eliot as President has its amusing features as viewed in the light of later years. Twice was the choice of him rejected by the Board of Overseers, not one of whom was under sixty, because he was "too young." True, he was only thirty-five at this time, but there was no lack of maturity in education, culture, or in his views of the needs of higher education in this country. Just prior to his election he had spent two years in Europe in study of his specialty, chemistry, but his observation of the European systems of education had occupied even more of his time. There was no blind worship of the foreign, he did not wish to transplant a foreign institution in America. As stated in magazine articles at the time, President Eliot wanted the American universities to be "not a copy of foreign institu-

tions, but the slow natural outgrowth of American social and political habit."

John Hays Gardiner, in his "History of Harvard," summarizes the chief developments of the University under President Eliot as five: "(1) The expansion of instruction in the College. (2) The raising and broadening of the requirements for admission. (3) The growing maturity of college life. (4) The development of instruction for the graduate students, with the necessary consequence, the advancement of knowledge. (5) The raising of professional training in medicine, law, engineering, and finally in business, to the graduate level."

The first object was attained by the expansion of the electives, the addition of new courses, the quality of the work being at the same time increased. Attempts were also made to reduce the required time for the bright students' completion of collegiate courses to three years, the President being "convinced that some such shortening of the College course was necessary to save the bachelor's degree from being squeezed out between a lengthened and improved high-school course and the increasing thoroughness of the professional studies."

President Eliot kept always in touch with secondary education, and in connection with the improvement in this kept step in the raising of requirements for admission to Harvard. In 1872, in his annual report the President said: The admission to Harvard is at least one year's study higher than the admission to any other college in the country .... The authorities do not intend to reduce or diminish this difference .... but they would gladly see the other colleges raising their requisitions of admission to that of Harvard's." And this was just the result, there was a general advance in the admission requirements to all the important colleges in the country. Latin and Greek were displaced as the narrow entrance subjects. In 1892, President Eliot, as the Chairman of the "Committee of Ten," established for the study of teaching in the secondary schools of the country, prepared four-year programs for secondary schools, and incidentally opened the way for the admission to colleges of greatly increasing numbers of graduates from the public high schools.

The two changes mentioned, brought about by Charles Eliot,—the expansion of instruction in college, particularly by the enlargement of electives, and the raising of the requirements for admission, brought about a change in the maturity and "sobriety" of undergraduate life. In 1856 the average age of the entering class was seventeen years and seven months; now it ranges between eighteen and a half to nineteen. A college graduate is, on the average, a voting citizen now. There is now a greater coöperation between the Faculty and the student body. The "rebellious" outbreaks, hazing, "rough-house"

pranks, are fewer, or eliminated. Students feel that they are men doing men's work, and act accordingly. The phrase, "freedom with responsibility" is one much used, and with meaning. Petty rules have been done away with. At first the idea was tried out in connection with the attendance upon lectures, it being taken for granted that if one was continuously a non-attendant he is not "fulfilling the purposes of his residence at college, and calls for inquiry, explanation, and action" on the part of the Faculty. In like manner religion was made a matter of "liberty with responsibility." Attendance on Morning Prayers had been for more than two centuries a rigid requirement; it was made voluntary.

James Brice is said to have told President Eliot at the time of his elevation to the office that Harvard was, "no real University, but only a struggling college, with uncertain relations to learning and research, loosely tied into congeries of professional schools." At the end of the forty-year term of the president, Harvard was a real University, firmly organized, vigorous, offering instruction in all the fields of human knowledge. There had been resident graduates in the University, almost from its beginning as a college, but these as organized bodies, with regular instruction leading to the higher degrees of A. M., Ph D., and S. D. were practically unknown. There were great men at the heads and among the teachers of the various schools, but no organized system by which students could take advantage of their learning and eminence, or of the collections of books in the libraries. The Graduate Schools organized or re-organized will be enumerated and something of their history told later in this chapter. These are, perhaps, the greatest monument to the efforts of President Eliot.

The fifth of the important changes in the University was in making professional study in the professional schools graduate work. In 1872, the president announced the changes outlined for the Medical School. He said of the conditions as he found them . . . "The Medical students (prior to 1872) were noticeably inferior in bearing, manners and discipline to the students of the other departments." To bring about an improvement in these conditions it was planned to have: (1) regular instruction running through the academic year; (2) a progressive course covering three years; (3) full laboratory work in place of, or in addition to lectures and recitations in anatomy, etc.; (4) the passing of written examinations in all main subjects, instead of oral examinations in some of them. These are commonplace rules now, but were revolutionary at the time of their proposal. What was done for the Medical School to bring it out of its slough of despond was also wrought in the Law, Divinity and other schools.

**President Emeritus**—While still in his prime, President Eliot in 1909,

having completed four decades as the head of the University, resigned the active leadership of the University which was practically the creation of his administration. On March 20, 1924, the 90th anniversary of Dr. Eliot's birth was celebrated at the University, the demonstration being participated in by Chief Justice Taft, representing the President of the United States; the Governor of Massachusetts, the presidents of Harvard and Yale, and dozens of distinguished men. Many were the encomiums showered upon him. Dr. Eliot had received many honors from European governments. He was an officer of the Legion of Honor, France; grand officer of the Crown of Italy; member of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun of Japan; and a member of the Order of the Crown of Belgium. He was a member of the Moral and Political Science Academy of the French Institute; a member of the British Academy; a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society; honorary president of the National Conservation Society and president of the Massachusetts Society of Social Hygiene. Honors from nearly all of the higher education institutions had been heaped upon him, and degrees had been awarded by many Universities. In June, 1924, Dr. Eliot received the Roosevelt medal, conferred "for leadership of youth and development."

As this is being written, the newspapers are publishing the news of his death at ninety-two, on August 22, 1926, at his summer home in Northeast Harbor, Maine. The headlines carried the caption the "Foremost American Citizen remained active until shortly before the end." Perhaps "activity" sums up his life. Dr. Eliot upon his resignation from Harvard in 1909 did not resign himself to inactivity, rather he sought freedom for other works. He declined the honor of appointment to the Court of St. James, wishing rather to go as a peace envoy in 1911 and 1912 to Europe. War in two years followed and Dr. Eliot gave himself to his duties as a citizen. He later devoted himself to literary works; his able and concise, clear and vigorous style being well known. He created his famous "five-foot shelf" of literature. Much of his time was taken up in public speaking. His frequent speeches met with both praise and denunciation, but were never listened to with indifference.

"Throughout his remaining years he was frequently heard through the medium of the press and the magazines and on the platform giving expression in his vigorous, individual way, to his thoughts on big questions of the day. His noble speech, perfect in voice and enunciation, unmistakable in purpose, dignified, controlled, with tremendous strength in reserve, his amazing capacity for work and his delight therein, his scorn of fear and favor or defeat, his every gift of body and

mind, he used with a complete unselfishness for a purpose that was beyond the horizon of most men in private life or public.

"Cool he undoubtedly was and unsentimental; but those near him spoke of the delicacy of his sympathy, the strength of his attachment to relative or friend, the ready ear for pain or poverty, the incapacity for selfishness, the perpetual elevation of soul. He believed that Christ was the supreme teacher; the church of the future will have more reverence for the personality of the Christ; it will prefer liberty to authority; it will see neither demons nor deities in the forces and processes of nature; it will rob death of its terrors; it will dwell on goodness, life and truth, and the brotherhood of man will be the outcome."

Another says: "President Eliot had an astonishing mastery of detail. His lucid force lent distinction to his literary style. Feebleness was not in him. He did not lie; he always said the things he meant. In all his governing boards at the University, he surrounded himself with strong men. He did his work in the light of his ideals. This democratic aristocrat sought to develop, through education, a better type of American. Like his Puritan ancestors, President Eliot was a pioneer—the pioneer of the modern University idea in America. By the elective system he opened every road of education to every individual. He put professional schools on a graduate basis."

Like President Wilson, Dr. Eliot was a master of English, and was widely known for his published works. Curiously enough, his first books were on scientific subjects in which he joined Francis H. Storer. His books on general subjects had such titles as "Five American Contributions to Civilization and Other Essays," "Educational Reform," and "Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect." His appeal for "More Money for Public Schools" was printed in 1903; "John Gilley" appeared in 1904; a new edition of "The Happy Life" in 1905; "Four American Leaders" in 1906; the "Durable Satisfaction of Life" in 1910; "The Road Toward Peace" in 1915; and the "Late Harvest" in 1924.

The funeral services of "America's Greatest Private Citizen" were held in Appleton Chapel at Harvard. These were very simple and unostentatious. Not many could get into the chapel, and the College Yard was filled with the quiet throng of those who would do him honor. By a fitting coincidence, as the funeral cortege wended its way to Mt. Auburn, the final resting place of so many who have been leaders at Harvard, the new bell just installed to call to the students of a new year, rang for the first time as it tolled its farewell to the former president.

**University Buildings**—Harvard University today consists of Harvard College and a number of graduate and professional schools, most of

them requiring a bachelor's degree for admission. These are the Graduate Schools of Art and Sciences, Law, Medicine, Public Health, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Business Administration, and Education; the Engineering School, which admits men for both undergraduate and graduate study; the Dental School, partly on an undergraduate basis; the Bussey Institution, a graduate school of applied biology; and the Theological School in Harvard University, formed in 1922 by the affiliation of Harvard Divinity School and Andover Theological Seminary. The University comprises also a number of museums and other departments devoted primarily to research.

The College Yard is the center of the University. Here are located the administrative offices, the Library, several lecture and recitation halls, and a number of the older dormitories. From this point the other departments of the University radiate. Some, such as the Medical, Public Health, and Dental Schools in Boston and the Bussey Institution in Jamaica Plain, are located at a distance of several miles; but a great majority of the departments are situated in and around the Yard in convenient proximity to the library, dormitories, and dining halls provided by the University.

In 1650 a charter was granted to Harvard College which established a primary governing board, the Corporation, consisting of seven men authorized to elect their successors, and to make orders for carrying on the College as they saw fit "provided the said orders be allowed by the Overseers," a board which was first established in 1642. The form of University government thus adopted over 270 years ago, has been in use to this day. There have been various lesser changes; for example, the Board of Overseers was originally a group of ministers and public officials, whereas since 1866 they have been elected by the graduates to serve for six-year terms, and since 1916 all holders of degrees from any department of the University have had the right to vote for them. Fundamentally, however, the government is the same as that adopted in 1650. There are two governing boards: the Corporation, a group of seven men (including the President and Treasurer) which meets twice a month, holds the property, and appoints the teaching and administrative staff; and the Board of Overseers, a group of thirty-two men (including the President and Treasurer) which meets less frequently, has a veto power on the more important acts and appointments of the Corporation, and keeps the institution in touch with the large body of alumni and with the public.

The principal administrative officers of the University include the President, the Treasurer, the Deans of the various Faculties, Schools, and Administrative Boards, the Comptroller, and the Bursar. The President is the presiding officer of the Corporation and of each of the

Faculties, and exercises a general superintendence over all the manifold concerns of the institution. The Treasurer is the custodian of the property of the University and makes its investments. The Comptroller supervises the expenditure of University money, while the Bursar is the agent of the University in receiving and disbursing money, settling term bills, etc. The Deans conduct the business of their several Faculties or Administrative Boards.

By its scholarly traditions and intellectual freedom, the University attracts professors of national and international reputation. Its large body of highly-trained and effective teachers and investigators is its greatest single asset.

Another important asset is the Library, which is not only the largest University library in the country, but is surpassed in size by only two American libraries of any sort; the Congressional Library and the New York Public Library. No other library is so fully equipped to meet the needs of scholars. The main collection is housed in the Widener Memorial Library, constructed in 1914 in memory of Harry Elkins Widener, '07, who lost his life in the "Titanic" disaster. The reading rooms provide a quiet place for study, while students engaged in research have direct access to the stacks, in which there are several hundred stalls. Each man granted this privilege can work at his own desk by a window, close to the books in his special subject.

The University has many notable museums, including the University Museum (containing a zoölogical section known as the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, an anthropological section known as the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, and botanical, mineralogical and geological sections); the William Hayes Fogg Museum of Art; the Germanic and Semitic Museums; and the Social Museum. The Botanic Garden, the Gray Herbarium, the Arnold Arboretum (a museum of living trees and shrubs at Jamaica Plain) and the Forest at Petersham, are of value to students of botany in all its phases. The Astronomical Observatory and the Rotch Meteorological Observatory at Blue Hill are maintained primarily for research. The University possesses also many laboratories for work in physics, chemistry, astronomy, and psychology, and for medicine and engineering in all their branches. There is in addition a summer engineering camp at Squam Lake, New Hampshire.

The Freshman class is housed in the Freshman Halls, three buildings completed in 1914 and situated at five minutes' walk from the Yard on the bank of the Charles River. It is well to note here that generally speaking the clubs and fraternities at Harvard do not serve as dormitories for their members. Practically all of the dormitories outside the Yard which in earlier years were privately owned, such as Claverly,

Randolph, Westmorly, Dunster, and others, have now been purchased by the University; and in these dormitories, south of the Yard, live most of the Sophomores and Juniors in the College. Most of the social clubs and the College papers have their headquarters in the same region; while the Seniors live by preference in the old Yard.

Walter Hastings Hall on Massachusetts Avenue, a large brick building, is near the Law School and is entirely occupied by Law School students. Conant Hall on Oxford Street has been given over entirely to students in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Perkins Hall on the same street to students in that School and the Graduate School of Business Administration.

Soldiers Field, named by its donor, Major Henry L. Higginson, in memory of "friends, comrades, kinsmen" who fell in the Civil War, is the great playground of the University. It is situated on the Charles River, just across from the Freshman Halls, and has an area of sixty-three acres. Here is the Harvard Stadium, with 25,000 seats (expanded by wooden stands to 50,000 at the time of important games). Here also are the baseball cage, locker building, running tracks, tennis courts, and baseball, football, soccer, and lacrosse fields.

On the river, close to the Anderson Bridge which leads to Soldiers Field, stand the University Boathouse and the Weld Boathouse. The Charles River offers opportunity for all sorts of boating, from canoes to eight-oared shells. Any man in the University who wishes to row is given instruction and placed on one of the many informal crews as soon as possible. There are also single shells for those who prefer this form of rowing. In the spring of 1922 there were no less than forty-eight practicing on the river.

Jarvis Field, the original athletic field of the College, is now given over to tennis courts, which are in great demand during the spring and fall. During the winter months squash racquets, squash tennis and handball may be played in the University squash courts on Linden Street. The Hemenway Gymnasium has locker accommodations for 1,200, and regular instruction is offered throughout the year in various gymnasium activities. The Big Tree Swimming Pool building on Holyoke Street contains a small swimming pool and two squash courts. The new temporary Freshman Athletic Building, close to the Freshman Halls, has facilities for handball, indoor baseball, basketball, and other indoor games.

The Stillman Infirmary, the gift of the late James Stillman of New York, a large and well-equipped hospital for the students of the University, stands on Mount Auburn Street about half a mile from the College Yard. For an annual fee of $7.00 all men registered in the Cambridge

departments of the University are admitted to the Infirmary without further charge for two weeks in the academic year.

A large University such as Harvard, drawing its population from the entire country and from every type of man, is in many respects a miniature of the outside world. It does not confine a man's activities and thoughts to any mold; rather it gives him an opportunity to pursue interests that he already has and acquire new ones. The various student activities serve not only for diversion and companionship; many of them have also an intellectual value. Men who care for music, journalism, the drama, languages, scientific work, etc., will find an opportunity to develop these tastes. The College publications, four in number, offer a training for those in the College who wish to write; many well-known authors and artists have served their apprenticeship on the "Crimson," "Lampoon," or "Advocate." The activities of the Harvard Dramatic Club attract the men interested in the arts of the theatre; while for those interested in music there are the Glee Club (a choral body of more than a hundred men), the Pierian Sodality, and the Harvard Musical Association. These examples indicate the wide opportunity for development of special inclinations. Any man with talent and energy can be assured of recognition in one of the various student activities.

**The Alumni**—Graduation does not end a man's association with the University. He enters the great body of Harvard alumni, some 43,000 in number, who are distributed among the forty-eight states of the Union and in every part of the world. There are now 103 Harvard Clubs in the United States and 16 in foreign possessions of the United States and foreign countries. All this means that there is waiting for the young Harvard graduate with a good record, high ideals, and strong purpose—from whatsoever department of the University or section of the country he may come—a host of men who stand ready to help and encourage him as he turns from College to his work in life. One of the most practical services the Harvard Alumni Association renders the recent graduate is in maintaining the Alumni Appointment Office in Boston, and similar employment bureaus in other parts of the country, by means of which the friendly interest of officers and members of numerous Harvard Clubs is used in securing employment for young Harvard men. These clubs make themselves very serviceable to the University, and to young graduates who go as strangers into communities new to them these clubs give the support of a friendly group of older residents. Two periodicals, the "Alumni Bulletin" (weekly during the College year) and the "Graduates' Magazine" (quarterly), keep the alumni in touch with the University.

In the year 1923-24 there were 1,054 men on the teaching staff of the

University, 319 of these being of professional rank. In the same year, 6,733 students were enrolled in the several departments of the University, exclusive of those registered in the Summer School, which had an enrollment of over 2,250. In the College alone there were over 2,900 students.

The Harvard Memorial Society has made the historical associations of the older College dormitories more real and personal by posting in each room a printed list of its occupants from the beginning; and on these lists in Holworthy, Stoughton, and Hollis Halls alone, one may read the names of Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, Wendell Phillips; the historians, John Lothrop Motley, Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, and William H. Prescott; Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edward Everett Hale, and Phillips Brooks.

Among the noted graduates during the history of the University have been Increase and Cotton Mather, Thomas Hutchinson, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Jonathan Trumbull, Fisher Ames, Joseph Story, William Ellery Channing, Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams, Charles Eliot Norton, Asa Gray, C. C. Langdell, Nathaniel S. Shaler, Joseph H. Choate, John Fiske, George F. Hoar and Theodore Roosevelt.

**Schools**—The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences exists to give advanced instruction and to foster research in the fields of language and literature, history and the political and social sciences, philosophy and anthropology, music and the fine arts, mathematics, and the various departments of pure science. The school is under the charge of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which also gives the instruction in Harvard College, and its more elementary instruction stands in close relation with that of the College.

The School came into being as a result of action taken in January, 1872, by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard College, in establishing higher degrees in art, science, and philosophy to follow upon the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. For some time it had little formal organization, and was known as the Graduate Department; but in 1890 it was more solidly established under the name of the Graduate School. Its students comprise not only candidates for the higher degrees, but also many others who desire to take advantage of its facilities for instruction and research.

The greatest single material resource available for the graduate student at Harvard is the Library, which with over two million books and pamphlets is the largest University library in the country, and is particularly adapted to the requirements of students engaged in re-

search. The main collection is housed in the Widener Library, primarily a place for study and research and only secondarily for general reading.

The Library possesses every possible convenience for the storage and ready use of millions of books. Graduate students are given access to the stacks, and individual desks enable those engaged in investigation and research to carry on a large portion of their work directly among the books.

Besides the central collection there are many special reference libraries, such as the Library of the Bureau of Municipal Research, the Child Memorial Library, and the Philosophical Library.

The Harvard Engineering School gives undergraduate and graduate instruction, and provides opportunities for research, in the various fields of engineering, in mining and metallurgy and in industrial chemistry. The school also offers, in coöperation with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, five-year undergraduate programs combining engineering and business administration.

Although the School is new in name and has been recently reorganized (1918), it is not of recent origin. The teaching of applied science in a special department at Harvard dates back to 1847, when the Lawrence Scientific School was founded. Since that time the University has always maintained a staff of teachers in engineering; and the present faculty includes a large group of experienced teachers whose professional interests and activities cover a wide range of engineering fields.

The School is well endowed. The great fund bequeathed by Gordon McKay will ultimately amount to some twenty million dollars; and although its use is closely restricted for the purposes of accumulation, according to the terms of Mr. McKay's will, the income available is now sufficient to maintain a distinguished teaching staff and excellently equipped laboratories.

The Engineering School aims to educate young men for the several fields of engineering and for the engineering industries, to give them a broad and sound foundation, and to stimulate them to learn to think for themselves.

The buildings of the Harvard Engineering School are situated in the northern part of the Harvard University grounds at Cambridge, five minutes' walk from Harvard Square, which is eight minutes from Boston by subway.

The central building is Pierce Hall, on Oxford Street. The building has been largely remodelled since it was used during the war as the headquarters of the U. S. Naval Radio School. It contains a set of electrical engineering laboratories second to none in range and quality of equipment—over twenty thousand square feet of floor space being

devoted to these laboratories alone. At one end of the building are up-to-date laboratories for the new and rapidly developing sciences of sanitary and municipal engineering and sanitary chemistry. There is also a well-equipped laboratory for metallography. Pierce Hall contains most of the offices of the engineering staff, the classrooms and drafting rooms, and the special engineering library.

On Oxford Street, nearly opposite Pierce Hall, stands the Gordon McKay laboratory for mechanical and civil engineering—a large, one-story building, 300 feet long and 100 feet wide. In this great space the apparatus for mechanical engineering and other heavy work is installed, sets of steam and gas engines, and a reservoir, tank, and other apparatus for hydraulic experiments, as well as machines for testing the strength of steel, reinforced concrete, and other building materials.

The new Dunbar Laboratory for research in cryogenic engineering adjoins the McKay Laboratory on the East.

Next to Pierce Hall, on the other side, stands the Cruft Laboratory, built in 1914, and admirably equipped for instruction and research in radio engineering, in other high frequency electrical work, and in the general field of electric communication engineering.

The Rotch Building, close at hand, contains most of the laboratories of mining and metallurgy.

The School has an Engineering Camp with over a square mile of land at Squam Lake, New Hampshire, for summer instruction in surveying and railroad engineering.

The Graduate School of Business Administration aims to give its students familiarity with general business facts and principles which may be the foundaton of a broad business point of view, and to give them the practice in analyzing and solving business problems which is needed for progress in business.

The School also furnishes instruction intended to help its graduates to adjust themselves in business. Instruction directed to this end deals with the relation of the individual to his personal and business surroundings and opportunities, and with the relation of the business man to current social and business problems.

Recognition of the soundness of the aims of the School has been given and the permanency, stability and growth of its service insured through the George F. Baker Foundation, established through the generous gift of $5,000,000 of Mr. George F. Baker of New York for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings and endowing the research of the School. At the present time an entire new plant consisting of administration building, class-room buildings, research laboratory, library, dining hall, dormitories, and recreation building are in process of plan-

ning and construction, to be completed for occupation by the fall of 1926.

The School of Architecture at Harvard, which had its origin in courses on architecture given under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1893, developed into a graduate school because of the very general feeling in the profession that an architect should have, if possible, a liberal education as a basis and background for professional studies.

The School of Architecture shares with the School of Landscape Architecture the use of Robinson Hall, located in the Yard at the corner of Broadway and Quincy streets. Designed by McKim, Mead & White for the special use of the School and containing ample libraries and many works of art, it gives an ideal environment for the study of architecture.

The Harvard School of Landscape Architecture is the only graduate school of its kind in the country. Instruction in the subject has been given at the University since 1900; six years later the work was placed upon a graduate basis and the professional degree of M. L. A. (Master in Landscape Architecture) was created; the establishment of a separate department of Landscape Architecture followed in 1908.

The Bussey Institution is adjacent to the grounds of the Arnold Arboretum in Jamaica Plain. For a number of years following its founding in 1871 it was an undergraduate school of agriculture, but in 1908 the decision was made to reorganize it completely and make of it a place for advanced study and research in applied biology. Accordingly an entirely new staff was appointed, and building, grounds, and instruments were adapted to their new purpose. From the time of its reorganization no undergraduate instruction has been given at the Bussey Institution. It is primarily a place for research.

The School exists to further the investigation of the principles which underlie the practical application of zoölogy and botany to human welfare, and its work covers the fields of economic entomology, animal genetics, plant genetics, applied plant anatomy, dendrology, silviculture and forest management. The work of dendrology is pursued in connection with the Arnold Arboretum. The Harvard Forest at Petersham affords excellent facilities for the study of silviculture and forest management as well as that of forest entomology.

Although the existing Theological School was organized in 1922, being formed by the affiliation of the Harvard Divinity School and Andover Theological Seminary, instruction in theology has been given in Harvard College from its very beginning. Indeed, one of the leading purposes of the founders of Harvard was the training of men for the ministry. The differentiation of the Divinity School from the College was very gradual, but the development of a distinctive professional

School of Theology began in 1816, and the Divinity Faculty was organized in 1819. The constitution of the School prescribed that "every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiased investigation of Christian truth, and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians shall be required of either the instructors or students."

Andover Theological Seminary, founded in 1808 at Andover, Massachusetts, was throughout the nineteenth century one of the best-known theological schools in the country. In 1908 it was moved to Cambridge and located adjacent to the Divinity School, the two schools adopting a policy of coöperation. By the present agreement, entered into between the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary in 1922, the Divinity School and Andover Seminary are affiliated as a single Theological School in Harvard University, which succeeds them. This School is non-denominational, both faculty and student body including members of several different denominations, no single denomination having a majority.

The Episcopal Theological School, which is also located in Cambridge, is affiliated with the University through an arrangement by which courses in either Theological School are open without extra charge to members of both student bodies. Boston University School of Theology and Newton Theological Institution, a few miles away, are also affiliated with the University, and arrangements can be made by which students in the Harvard Theological School may take courses in either of these institutions. There is therefore available for the theological student in Cambridge a body of instruction which, for breadth and richness, is probably not surpassed elsewhere in the world, and which is approached at very few other seats of learning.

The Harvard Law School, established in 1817, is the oldest of the existing law schools of the country. It has attained its present position among law schools by the high professional standing of its graduates and by the invention and introduction of a stimulating method of legal instruction, the so-called Langdell or Harvard case system, which has since been widely adopted. In the century of its existence it has turned out over 12,000 trained lawyers. The School occupies two large buildings, Austin Hall and Langdell Hall, the latter containing the Law Library, which Professor Dicey of Oxford has pronounced "the most perfect collection of legal records in the English-speaking world." Two adjacent dormitories, Walter Hastings Hall and Gannett House, are given over to law students so far as their needs require.

Until 1871 the degree of Bachelor of Laws was based in a large measure on residence and attendance at the lectures of the School, two requirements which were but loosely enforced. In 1871, at the instigation

MEMORIAL TO JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

HARVARD, HOLLIS, STOUGHTON AND HOLWORTHY HALLS, THE YARD,
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of Professor Langdell, the requirements for admission and graduation, and above all the methods of instruction, underwent a complete change. From that time examinations of increasing severity have been required in all courses and have served as the basis of the degree.

Since 1877 a three-year course has been prescribed for the degree, and in 1899 admission to the School was restricted to graduates of approved colleges. Even with this high requirement, rigidly enforced, 1,099 men were registered in the School in the year 1923-24. The degree of Bachelor of Laws is now granted to holders of an academic bachelor's degree after a residence of three years and the passing of examinations in the entire course.

An epoch-making event, not merely in the history of the Harvard Law School, but that of legal instruction in the country at large, was the appointment, in 1870, of Christopher Columbus Langdell as Dean of the School. Before his administration eminent jurists had taught the students by lectures supplemented by the study of legal treatises. Professor Langdell, though bred under this system, saw that, while it might give in easily accessible form such principles of law and practice as could be specifically formulated, it did not give training and therefore facility in the actual methods of the legal practice. Professor Langdell introduced into his own courses—whence it spread to those of the other teachers—a system of instruction whereby the student was trained to use as original authorities the published decisions of the courts.

At the beginning of the School a small appropriation was made for the purchase of a law library, and to this nucleus many important additions were made from time to time, some of which were unique. Today the collection of law books—reports, statutes, and books on the history, development, and content of the law—numbers over 215,000 volumes, and 45,000 pamphlets, and may fairly be called the best collection in the world.

The Graduate School of Education is among the more recent of the graduate schools of Harvard University, being first established as a separate department in April, 1920. Certain courses in Education are still given for undergraduates and graduates under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences; but the creation of the Graduate School of Education places the technical training of teachers and school officers under a distinct professional organization parallel to the Schools of Law, Medicine, Divinity, and Business Administration.

Systematic instruction in Education was first given at Harvard University in 1891, when Paul Henry Hanus was appointed Assistant Professor of the History and Art of Teaching. The courses were given in the Division of Philosophy until 1906, when the instructors in Education were organized as a separate Division of the Faculty of Arts and Sci-

ences. The present Graduate School of Education is in effect a reorganization and enlargement of the former Division of Education, in recognition of the further need for the professional training of teachers and school officers, and for the study of educational problems. It is the only exclusively graduate school of education in the country.

The aims of the School are those which have guided the work of the Division from the beginning:

1. To provide introductory training for prospective teachers and school officers.
2. To provide advanced training for experienced teachers and school officers.
3. To provide opportunity for original investigation and experiment in education.

The Medical School, founded in 1782, is the oldest of Harvard's professional schools. Originally it granted the degree of Bachelor of Medicine; in 1811 the present degree of Doctor of Medicine was established. One of the most important dates in the history of the School is 1906, when the present quarters of the School on Longwood Avenue, Boston, were first occupied. Prior to that time the School had had many homes, moving from Cambridge to Boston as early as 1810 in order to benefit by the clinical advantages of a large city. The present buildings on Longwood Avenue are of white marble, and are five in number. One is designated for administrative, and four for laboratory purposes. Grouped around the buildings of the School are a number of important hospitals, several of these being located on the grounds of the School.

The five buildings of the School surround a great court on three sides, the open end of which leads into the Fenway, one of the main arteries of Boston's park system. The administration building stands at one end of the court, with two laboratory buildings located on each side, the latter all constructed on the same general plan—two parallel wings united by an amphitheatre. These buildings, with their laboratories secure extensive accommodations for the various branches of medicine, and with the numerous hospitals grouped around them, provide an equipment for teaching and research in the various branches of medical science which as a whole is probably unequalled.

The School of Public Health is one of the youngest of Harvard's professional schools, being established in 1921 as the result of a very generous endowment received from the Rockefeller Institute, and opening its doors to students for the first time in September, 1922. The School has developed to a large extent out of the activities of Harvard University, especially those of Tropical and Preventive Medicine and Industrial Hygiene in the Medical School. The School recently bought the Infants' Hospital at 55 Van Dyke Street, on land adjacent to the Medical

School, and is now installed there. The proximity of these two schools is not mere chance, but emphasizes an affiliation which must of necessity exist between schools whose interests are so closely allied and whose work is so closely interwoven.

The Harvard Dental School was established in 1867 by vote of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and was the first dental school to be connected with an American university. For a number of years the School had no building of its own, but in 1909 a splendidly-equipped building on Longwood Avenue was completed, adjacent to the Harvard Medical School, furnished with every appliance for modern instruction in dentistry. It contains a commodious infirmary, three operating rooms for oral surgery with connecting wards, a prosthetic laboratory, a complete dental library, a dental museum, and a large recreation room for the use of the students. There is an X-ray department, with three machines and a waiting room. A subway connects this building with those of the Harvard Medical School, where all lectures are given.

A Summer School under the direction of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the Faculty of Education, open to women as well as to men, holds a six-weeks' session each year, beginning early in July. In 1924, courses were offered in Anthropology, Architecture, Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Classics, Economics, Education, Engineering Sciences, English, Fine Arts, French, Geology, German, Government, History, Horticulture, Hygiene, Italian, Mathematics, Medical Sciences, Music, Philosophy, Physical Education, Physics, Psychology, Public Speaking, Social Ethics, and Spanish.

## CHAPTER XII

### COURTS AND LAWYERS.

On both the old and new seals of Middlesex County, the date of its incorporation is given as 1630, although it was not legally incorporated until May 10, 1643. The date was probably used in a commemorative sense rather than literal, of what is sometimes termed the founding of the original county. It is true that in 1630, John Winthrop arrived in this country with a new charter, the lines of which correspond to some of those now making up the modern county. These boundaries, simply stated were, from three miles south of the Charles River, to three miles north of the Merrimac, extending westward to the sea, in other words the Pacific. A tremendous domain as we now know it! Parts of a dozen states; seat of a half hundred cities. This great territory was somewhat reduced when in 1643 the bounds of the four counties into which the authorities divided the Massachusetts Colony for its better government. Only about eight hundred square miles were left to Middlesex. One can drive in his motor-car from one corner to the farthest end in the morning, transact his business and be back again before dark. But what it lacks in area it makes up in population and wealth. There are not far from a million inhabitants of this section, with forty-three towns and eleven cities, more cities than in any county in the United States. Fewer than a dozen of the largest cities of America exceed it in population, and in turn, Middlesex exceeds the populations of one quarter of the states of the Union. Florida, the largest State east of the Mississippi, the winter capital of the country, only in recent years has been able to show more people than the County of Middlesex.

**King James' Patent**—If one wants to go back to the earliest incidents of the foundation of the county, he must go at least to the patent issued by King James, April 20, 1606, by which a strip of land extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree north latitude, was divided between two companies, the Northern and Southern Virginia. This was a territory of about a hundred miles in width extending to unknown depths in the west. The Northern Company was granted the region north of the thirty-eighth degree to the forty-fifth, but actual possession went to the Company first settling it, provided that neither Company were to found a colony within a hundred miles of another. In 1614, John Smith sailed into the "opening betwixt Cape Cod and Cape Ann," now

known as Boston Harbor, but then as Shawmut and Mishawum (Boston and Charlestown). He recounted the story of his discovery to the Prince of Wales, soon to be Charles the First of England, and aroused great interest in the new country.

On November 3, 1620, a new patent was issued to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and associates, to the lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree, north, they "to hold the territory extending from sea to sea .... and to make laws, appoint governors and other officers" and generally to set up any form of government and officials they saw fit. This new grant included all the vast region between central New Jersey and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, west to the "South Sea." Meanwhile, a settlement had been made at Plymouth (1620) under the rights of the Southern Company. Worried by this contretemps, the colony sent back by the Mayflower for a new patent from the Northern Company. This was issued, June 21, 1621, to John Pierce and associates in trust for the Plymouth Colony, and may today be seen in Pilgrim Hall in that town. On December 30, 1622, a new patent and name was given to Robert Gorges, covering all that part of the mainland, "commonly called or known by the name of Messachusiack" located "upon the northeast side of the Bay called, or known by the name of the Messachusett." This included the shore "for ten English miles towards the northeast and thirty miles into the mainland through all the breadth aforesaid" being now a part of Middlesex County. Robert Gorges made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize his land in 1623, and died soon after his return to England, his rights descending to his brother John. John Gorges leased a part of his grant to John Oldham and John Dorrill. In the meantime, all the original grant to Robert Gorges had been re-patented to the Massachusetts Colony, March 19, 1627-8, covering the territory three miles south of the Charles to three miles north of the Merrimac. This charter extinguished the rights of Gorges, Oldham and Dottill. The charter of this corporation known as "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England" cleared the legal status of land, and led directly to the settlement of what is now Middlesex. Several of the original patentees sold their interest to John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Sir Richard Saltonstall, who together with John Humfrey, Simon Whitcomb and John Endicott formed a new company and straightway encouraged the settlement of the region. Cradock was named by the King as the Governor of the Company. John Endicott was the Governor of the Colony until 1630, when he became Local Governor. On October 20, 1629, a "Generall court holden in England at Mr. Goffe the Deputyes House." John Winthrop was chosen Governor and John Humfrey, Deputy Governor; and as members of the Assistants, Sir R. Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas

Dudley, John Endicott, Mr. Noell, William Vassall, Sam Sharpe, Edward Rissiter, Thomas Sharpe, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Mr. Aldersy, Nathaniel Wright, Theoph Eaton and Thomas Adams. The first Court of Assistants is said to have been held on the Winthrop ship "Arbella" in Charlestown harbor, August 23, 1630. The next meeting at the Governor's house on September 7, and a third, at the same place, on September 28 of that year. This was the origin of government in New England, which took on more of the characteristics that now are found in it, at the first General Court, held on October 19, 1630, in Boston.

The officers sanctioned by the charter in addition to Governors and the eighteen Assistants were, a Treasurer, Secretary of the Court, Major General, Admiral at Sea, and Commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, to be chosen by Freemen (voters in good religious standing) on the last Wednesday in Easter. At the first General Court held, the power of the voters was limited to choosing Assistants, but on May 9, 1632, "it was generally agreed upon the erection of hands that the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants should be chosen by the whole court of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants and Freemen." Other laws laid down in the early years of the General Court were: May 14, 1634, "none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen." "None but the General Court hath the power to make and establish laws, to elect and appoint officers . . . or to remove such under misdemeanor, as also to set up duties and powers of said officers." That "none but the General Court hath the power to raise monies and taxes and to dispose of lands." Possibly the most important ruling was one sanctioning the choosing by the voters (freemen) of representatives "who shall have the full power and voices of all said freemen . . . for the making of laws, granting of lands, etc." The two divisions of the Court were Deputies and Assistants, both meeting together until 1644. At this time the two met separately as the Court of the Assistants, and the Court of the Deputies. It is from this model that the Court of today was patterned. The first meeting of the Deputies assembled May 14, 1634, and represented the towns of Newtowne (Cambridge), Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester and Saugus. The section that is now Middlesex was the scene of the movements which in that day wrought out a system of government which with few changes controls the affairs of the Commonwealth nearly three hundred years later.

Until 1636 the whole judicial power rested with the Court of Assistants, but by this time the legal and judicial business of the Colony exceeded the ability of the Court to fulfill. At this time it was "ordered that such of the magistrates as shall reside in or near Boston, or any

five, four, or three of them, the Governor or Deputy to be one, shall have the power to assemble together upon . . . . . to hear and determine all civil causes whereof the debt or trespass or damages, shall not exceed twenty pounds, and all criminal causes not extending to life or banishment . . . and to summon juries out of the neighbor towns, and the marshall of necessary officers are to give their attendance as at other courts." It had already been enacted that "there shall be four courts in each quarter—one at Ipswich, to which Newbury should belong; two at Salem, to which Saugus shall belong; two at Newtown, to which Charlton (Charlestown), Concord, Medford, and Watertown shall belong; four at Boston, to which Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham should belong." The limitations of the powers of these courts was much the same as that about Boston, the right of appeal being expressly given.

**County Formed**—It is sometimes forgotten that there were more than twenty thousand newcomers who arrived in the decade from 1630 to 1640. They scattered widely, they were land hungry, they were severely religious for the most part, all of which meant a tremendous amount of business which must be handled by the Courts. It was conditions such as these that led to the setting up of four shires May 10, 1643. Of these Middlesex was made up of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford and Linn Village (Reading). A chronological account of the establishment or incorporation of the forty-three towns and eleven cities which now form the shire or county, is given in the chapter on "County Official Records and Personnel."

**County Courts**—After the formation of the county it was provided by law that "there shall also be county courts held in the several counties by the magistrates living in the respective counties or any other magistrates that can attend the same, or by any magistrates that the General Court shall appoint from time to time, together with such persons of wealth, where there shall be need, as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court (at the nomination of the freemen of the county) to be joined in commission with the magistrates so that there may be five in all, three whereof shall keep a court provided there be one magistrate; everyone of which courts shall have full power to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal, not extending to life, member or banishment (which with causes of divorce are reserved to the Court of Assistants) and to make and constitute clerks and other needful officers, and to summon juries of inquest and trials out of the towns of the county." These county courts retained what had been held by the Inferior Courts prior to the formation of the shire. Causes concerning trespass, damage, etc., "that doth not exceed twenty shillings"

were also to be cared for in the county. And in 1647 and 1649 laws were enacted that enlarged the jurisdiction of the county courts whereby the amount involved was raised to forty pounds. Provision was also made for the appointment of Commissioners by the Court of Assistants or the County Court, who could carry out many of the legal provisions, limiting them however to such cases as did not involve imprisonment. Many difficulties were refused airing in the county court until considered by these commissioners, or some magistrate, from whose decision an appeal had been made. The judicial system up to 1685 was then: A General Court with legislative powers and a limited appellate jurisdiction from the Court of Assistants; the General Court of Assistants, or the Greater Quarter Court, with the exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases involving life, member, or banishment, and concurrent jurisdiction with the county courts in civil cases not involving more than one hundred pounds, and appellate jurisdiction from the county courts; the County Courts or the Inferior Quarter Courts, with jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, except those involving divorce, life, member or banishment, having power to summon grand and petit jurors and appoint its own clerks and other necessary officials; to lay out roads; license taverns; see that a proper ministry was supported; and have the general control of probate matters; prove wills; grant administration papers; record deeds and mortgages; and have the appellate jurisdiction from the Commissioners' Courts; Strangers' Courts held at first by the Governor or Deputy Governor and two magistrates, or in their absence, by three magistrates with the same jurisdiction as the County Courts as far as the stranger was concerned, and whose judgment was final; Commissioners' Courts; lastly, Selectmen's Courts.

On May 16, 1666, Joseph Dudley was appointed by the King of England, President of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and the Narragansett country, and to aid him a Council. Neither the President nor Council had any legislative power except to establish or change the courts as they saw fit, and to appoint judges. A Superior Court was established with three sessions a year, and "Courts of Pleas and Sessions of the Peace" in some of the counties. William Stoughton was appointed over the Middlesex County Courts. Two years later Edmund Andros arrived in Boston and assumed jurisdiction over all of New England. His "Council" consisted of thirty-nine men who with himself claimed the exclusive right to make and enforce all laws. He reversed most of the judicial procedure, and while he made a farce of law enforcement, his system was good and the model upon which the Provincial charter eventually built. It is strange that a king who was to lose his head as a tyrant established in this country a free people, and another tyrant, Andros, laid the foundation of our present legal structure.

**A New Charter in 1691**—A new Charter was issued, October 7, 1691, embracing Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, Nova Scotia, and the lands between. This reached Boston, May 14, 1692, and was known as The Charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England. Under its provisions the government consisted of a Governor, Deputy Governor and Secretary, appointed by the King and Councillors chosen by the General Court, and a House of Representatives, chosen annually by the people. The General Court was empowered to establish courts; the Governor and Councillors to appoint judges and all other officials of the courts. Control over probate was delegated to the judges of the county courts. The General Court was no longer judicial, but creative. William Phipps, first Governor under the charter established the special Court of Oyer and Terminer to try the witch-craft cases that now engaged the attention of the Colony. The first session of this court was held in Salem, June 2, 1692; the last September 17. In that short time, "nineteen were condemned and hung for witch-craft, and one pressed to death."

The first enactments of the General Court were to keep in force the local laws for five months, after which an act was passed establishing Judicatories and Courts of Justice within the Province, (November 25, 1692) . . . This act was repealed in 1695. In 1697 an act providing for a trial by a twelve-man jury was passed, but repealed the next year. Three acts were passed of prime importance June 26, 1699. The first established a Court of General Sessions of the Peace to be held annually in the county by the justices of the peace, who were empowered to attend to all matters concerning the public peace, and to punish offenders. Second the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to be held in the county by four commissioned as justices who were to consider and decide all civil matters where the amount concerned was not more than forty shillings, except where freehold was concerned or an appeal had been made. Third, the Superior Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and four others, who should hear all pleas of the Crown, and take cognizance of all pleas. This court was held in Cambridge in July, and at Charlestown in January. The Court of Chancery, first set up November 25, 1692, was reëstablished in 1693. Finally, there was the Court of the Justices of Peace, reëstablished in 1697, with the power of judgment in matters of debt, trespass, etc., where title of land or amounts exceeding forty shillings were concerned. Changes were made and powers enlarged or diminished from time to time. Another Court was reëstablished at this period, the Probate Court, the powers of which rested with the Governor and Council, but which power they delegated to judges appointed by them. There was no regularly established Court of Probate until March 12, 1784.

The Superior Court of Judicature continued until February 21, 1781. The first justices were appointed in 1692, William Stoughton, Thomas Danforth, Waitstill Winthrop, John Richards, Samuel Sewall. Of the Middlesex men who served as justices, Thomas Danforth was one. He was one of the wealthiest and most influential men of his period, and served in many official positions. He was born in Framingham, England, 1662, settled in Cambridge in this country in 1631. Among his possessions was 120 acres in the heart of his town, and 16,000 acres comprising the most of the present towns of Framingham, Ashland, and portions of Sherborn, Cordaville and Southville. He was Deputy Governor for twelve years, Judge of the Superior Court for seven years, besides years in most of the legal positions of the County and Colony. "He was leader of the first party in America opposed to the encroachments of the Crown," and a friend of the Apostle to the Indians, John Eliot. He died November 5, 1699, aged seventy-seven. Chambers Russell was appointed Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1752. Edmund Trowbridge was the third from the county.

**Judges of Supreme Judicial Court**—This court was replaced on February 20, 1781, by the Supreme Judicial Court with a chief justice and four others. Of these justices, those from Middlesex County were: Francis Dana, 1785-1806; George Tyler Bigelow, 1850-1868; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 1859-1869; Seth Ames, 1869-1881; Charles Devens, 1881—; John W. Hammond, 1898.

Francis Dana was born in Charlestown, June 13, 1743, graduated from Harvard in 1762. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1774; member of the executive council from 1776 to 1780; delegate to Congress, 1776, 1778 and 1789; a member of the Board of War in 1777; Secretary of the Legation to Paris with John Adams in 1779; Minister to Russia from 1780 to 1783. He died at Cambridge April 25, 1811.

George Tyler Bigelow was born at Watertown, October 6, 1810, graduated from Harvard in 1839; received the LL. D. of his *alma mater* in 1853. He was admitted to the bar at Cambridge; appointed one of the judges of the Common Pleas Court in 1848, a position he held for two years, when he was made a member of the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. On this he served until his resignation in 1868, the last eight years as chief justice. His death occurred in 1878.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar was born in Concord, February 21, 1816, graduated at Harvard in 1835, receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1868. In 1849 appointed justice in Court of Common Pleas, from which he resigned in 1853. Appointed judge of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1859, he remained on the bench until 1869. In this year he was made Attorney-General of the United States under President Grant; in

1871 he was appointed joint high-commissioner to treat with England; and elected to Congress in 1872. During his term he was largely responsible for the publication of the Revised Statutes of the United States. A "faithful son of Harvard" he served as President of the Board of Overseers. He was also President of the National Unitarian Conference.

Seth Ames, Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1869 to 1881, was born at Dedham, April 19, 1805, and died at Brookline, August 15, 1881. A graduate of Harvard, class of 1825, he was admitted to the bar at Dedham in 1828. He was successively Justice and Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, (1859 to 1881), besides serving his county in various official positions; Senator, 1841; City solicitor, 1842-9; clerk of the Courts, 1849. He died in 1881.

Charles Devens was born at Charlestown, April 4, 1820, graduated from Harvard in 1828, admitted to the bar, 1832; he practiced law until 1849. From 1849 to 1853 he was United States Marshall for Massachusetts; returning to the law in 1854 in partnership with Senator George F. Hoar. During the Civil War, he attained the rank of Brigadier-General in 1862, and Major-General before the end of the war. In 1862 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Governorship of Massachusetts on the People's ticket. Appointed in 1867 a justice of the Supreme Court, he remained until made a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1873, resigning to become United States Attorney-General under President Hayes. Retiring from the Cabinet in 1881, he was re-appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court bench.

**Judges of Inferior Court**—The judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the county of Middlesex were as follows:

John Phillips, December 7, 1692, to December 9, 1715; James Russell, December 7, 1692, to April 28, 1709; Joseph Lynde, December 7, 1692, to June 27, 1719; Samuel Hayman, December 7, 1692, to June 29, 1702; Jonathan Tyng, June 29, 1702, to June 27, 1719; Francis Foxcroft, June 23, 1709, to June 27, 1719; Jonathan Remington, December 9, 1715, to June 22, 1733; Jonathan Dowse, June 27, 1719, to July 21, 1741; Charles Chambers, June 27, 1719, to December 21, 1739; Francis Fulham, June 27, 1719, to June 20, 1755; Thomas Greaves, June 22, 1733, to March 9, 1737-38; Francis Foxcroft, March 9, 1737-38, to March 7, 1764; Thomas Greaves, December 21, 1739, to August 19, 1747; Samuel Danforth, July 21, 1741; Chambers Russell, August 19, 1747, to April 7, 1752; Andrew Boardman, April 7, 1752, to May 20, 1769; William Lawrence, June 26, 1755, to September 7, 1763; John Tyng, September 7, 1763; Richard Foster, March 7, 1764, to May 16, 1771; Joseph Lee, May 24, 1769; James Russell, May 16, 1771.

The special justices of this court were:

Elisha Hutchinson, appointed June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; John Foster, June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; John Higginson, June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; Penn Townsend, February 25, 1708; Jonathan Tyng, February 25, 1708;

Jonathan Dowse, December 3, 1718; Jonas Bond, December 3, 1718, and September 6, 1723; Nathaniel Carey, November 25, 1719; Spencer Phips, September 6, 1723, July 18, 1726, and July 9, 1731; Thomas Greaves, November 25, 1719, and July 9, 1731; Henry Phillips, August 3, 1729; Francis Foxcroft, March 19, 1729-30, and July 9, 1731; Habijah Savage, December 15, 1732; Samuel Wells, December 15, 1732; Samuel Danforth, December 15, 1732; Jacob Wendell, December 29, 1736; Benjamin Prescott, December 29, 1736; Simon Tufts, July 25, 1741; Ephraim Curtis, July 25, 1741; William Lawrence, August 12, 1749, and June 21, 1751; John Tyng, July 19, 1762; Oliver Fletcher, July 29, 1762; Joseph Lee, March 7, 1764; Samuel Livermore, September 7, 1768; Charles Prescott, September 7, 1768.

The last term of this court was held May 21, 1774, to be revived July 3, 1782, continuing until June 21, 1811. At this date the Commonwealth was divided into six districts of which the Middle circuit was composed of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex.

**Court of General Sessions**—The Court of General Sessions, established in 1692, continued much in the old form until 1807, when an act was passed providing it consist of one chief justice and associates appointed in the counties by the Governor; these justices to act as the General Court of Sessions instead of county justices of peace. On June 19, the jurisdiction of the General Court of Sessions was transferred to the Court of Common Pleas, but was repealed in September. On June 21, 1811, an act provided for the jurisdiction of the Courts of Sessions to be turned over to the Courts of Common Pleas, and the administration of county affairs remained with this court until 1819, when the powers were returned again to the Courts of Sessions, the formation of the latter being somewhat changed. In 1826, March 4, the jurisdiction over highways was given to a board of "Commissioners of Highways." Provision was made for the appointment of the county commissioners by the Governor, four in number for Middlesex. On March 11, 1854, the present form of elective county commissioners was established. The commissioners since that time have been: Leonard Huntress, John K. Going, Paul H. Sweetser, Edward J. Collins, J. H. Waitt, Harrison Harwood, Daniel G. Walton, J. Henry Reed, William G. Frost, Alphonzo M. Lunt, Samuel O. Upham, Francis Bigelow, Levi Swanton Gould, Erson B. Barlow, Alfred L. Cutting, Walter C. Wardwell.

**Court of Common Pleas**—The Court of Common Pleas as established June 21, 1821, continued until April 5, 1859, when it was superseded by the present Superior Court. Judges of the Court of Common Pleas during its existence who were Middlesex men were:

Edward Mellen, 1847-1859 (Chief Justice, 1854); George T. Bigelow, 1848 to 1850; Thomas Hopkinson, 1848-9; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 1849-1853. Justices Bigelow and E. R. Hoar were appointed judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, and notes of them made under that head. Thomas Hopkinson was born in 1804,

graduated from Harvard in 1830, admitted to the bar three years later, and died November 17, 1856. He was representative from Lowell in 1838 and 1847, Senator in 1845, appointed judge of Common Pleas in 1848. He resigned to become the president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad.

**The Superior Court**—The Superior Court was established April 5, 1859, with ten justices whose number has been increased. Of the Middlesex men who have served as judges are:

Seth Ames, 1859 to 1869 (Chief Justice, 1867); Charles Devens, 1867 to 1873; John William Bacon, 1871 to 1885; John W. Hammond, 1886—; William Sewall Gardner, 1875 to 1885; Robert R. Bishop, 1888. Bacon was born at Natick in 1818, and graduated from Harvard in 1843. He died at Taunton, March 21, 1888. He was admitted to the bar at Natick in 1846 and practiced there fourteen years. Governor Claflin appointed him to the Superior Court bench in 1871. John W. Hammond was born December 16, 1837, graduated from Tufts in 1861, enlisted in the Union armies, and in 1866 settled in Cambridge and practiced law. He was representative in 1872-73; City Solicitor, 1873 to 1886, when he was appointed to the bench of the Superior Court, and from thence to the Supreme Judicial Court, in 1898. Mention of the other justices has or will be made.

Although the Provincial charter conferred the jurisdiction of Probate affairs on the Governor and Council, they claimed and exercised the right to delegate their powers to judges and registers of Probate in the several counties. There was no regular Probate Court established by law until March 12, 1784, when it was provided that a judge and register should be appointed by the Governor and Council. Under an amendment of the Constitution ratified by the people on the 23d of May, 1855, it was provided that at the annual election in 1856, and in every fifth year thereafter, the register should be chosen by the people for a term of five years. The judge remained as the appointee of the Governor. In 1856 a Court of Insolvency in each county was established by law, with a judge and register, and in 1858 the judge and register of this court were abolished, as well as the judge and register of Probate, and the offices of judge and register of Probate and Insolvency were created. In the same year, 1858, it was provided that the register of Probate and Insolvency should be chosen at the annual election in that year and every fifth year afterwards for a term of five years.

The following persons have filled the offices of judge and register of Probate, judge and register of Insolvency, and judge and register of Probate and Insolvency since the union of the Colonies, in 1692:

Judges of Probate:—James Russell, appointed June 18, 1692; John Leverett, appointed October 23, 1702; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 8, 1708; Jonathan Remington, appointed September 30, 1725; Samuel Danforth, appointed December 20, 1745; John Winthrop, appointed September 6, 1775; Oliver Prescott, appointed about July, 1779; James Prescott, appointed February 1, 1805; Samuel Phillips, Prescott Fay, appointed May 9, 1821; William Adams Richardson, appointed April 7, 1856, and held until July 1, 1858; Luther J. Fletcher, appointed judge of Insolvency,

1857; William Adams Richardson, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency, May 13, 1858, to take office July 1, 1858; George M. Brooks, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency, 1872-1893; Charles John McIntire, 1893; George Field Lawton, 1894.

Registers of Probate:—Samuel Phipps, appointed June 18, 1692; Thomas Sawn, appointed October 23, 1702; Nicholas Fessenden, appointed September 15, 1705; Daniel Foxcroft, appointed December 28, 1709; Thomas Foxcroft, appointed December 9, 1715; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 3, 1729; Samuel Danforth, appointed July 9, 1731; Andrew Boardman, appointed December 20, 1745; Andrew Boardman, Jr., (appointed special register on death of his father), 1769; William Kneeland, appointed May 29, 1769; James Winthrop, appointed September 6, 1775; James Foster, appointed May 26, 1817; Isaac Fiske, appointed October 29, 1817.

Registers of Insolvency:—Alonzo V. Lynde, appointed July 1, 1851; Alfred A. Prescott, appointed March 10, 1853; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Insolvency, 1856; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Probate and Insolvency, November, 1858; Isaac F. Jones, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, January, 1859; Samuel H. Folsom, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1877-1892, and register of Probate and Insolvency, 1892-1894; William Everett Rogers, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1892-94; register of Insolvency, 1904—; Frederick March Esty, assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1904; Charles Nathan Harris, assistant register of Probate and Insolvency, 1905.

**County Legal Officials**—From 1780 to 1807, there seems to have been no reguarly appointed County Attorneys. Under the provisions of Chapter 18, Section 1, of the Acts of 1807, the Governor was authorized to appoint "County Attorneys" to prosecute criminal cases in their counties. In 1848, by Chapter 16, Section 1, Middlesex became a separate district from Essex, with which it had been associated for six years. Under a provision of the Constitution adopted in 1855, District Attorneys have since been elected by the voters. The list of Attorneys since 1807 is as follows:

Samuel Dana, 1807 to 1811; Timothy Fuller, 1811 to 1813; Asahel Stearns, 1813 to 1832.

District Attorneys:

Asahel Huntington, 1832 to 1845; Albert Hobart Nelson, 1845 to 1848; Charles Russel Train, 1848 to 1851; Asa W. Farr, 1851 to 1853; Charles R. Train, 1853 to 1855; Isaac Stevens Morse, 1855 to 1872; John Benton Goodrich, 1872 to 1874; George Stevens, 1874 to 1879; John Wilkes Hammond, 1879 to 1880; William Burnham Stevens, 1880 to 1890; Patrick Henry Cooney, 1890 to 1893; Frederick Newton Wier, 1893 to 1902; George Augustus Sanderson, 1902—.

Assistant District Attorneys:

Theodore Clarence Hurd, 1865 to 1872; Charles John McIntire, 1872 to 1875; Joseph Gibson Holt, 1875 (one term); Henry Hedden Winslow, 1875 to 1880; Patrick Henry Cooney, 1880 to 1890; Charles Abiel Pevey, 1890 to 1893; George Augustus Sanderson, 1893 to 1902; Hugh Bancroft, 1902—.

There are, of course, a number of officials connected, directly or otherwise, with the courts of Middlesex County, a list of whom can be found

in Chapter VII of this work, "County Official Record and Personnel." There is also in that chapter an account of the several court houses in the county at various periods. The first record of a court house is that of the burning of one at Cambridge in 1671, although as early as March 3, 1635, Cambridge was made a shire town. Charlestown as the first town settled in the county, and the nucleus of the county in fact, must also have had early court buildings, but of these nothing is known. The county seat changed location several times, and courts have been held in a number of places. At present the shire towns are Cambridge since 1635, with periods of interruption, and Lowell since 1835. Courts are now held in the above-mentioned cities and in Marlborough, Natick, Newton, Somerville, Concord, Ayer, Malden, Waltham, Woburn, and Framingham.

**Pre-Revolutionary Judges**—The courts of today are made up of those having profound legal attainments, the result not only of natural ability, but also of long study and training. Few of the Provincial and Colonial judges were trained in the law, and many of them were rather uneducated. It is said, that prior to the Revolution, there were only four lawyers appointed to the Superior Court of Judicature—Benjamin Lynde, Paul Dudley, Edmund Trowbridge and William Cushing. Of these only Edmund Trowbridge was a Middlesex man. He was born in Newton in 1709, a graduate of Cambridge, 1728. In 1849 he was appointed Attorney General by Governor Shirley; in 1767, a justice of the Superior Court, from which office he resigned in 1772. "He presided at the trial of the British soldiers charged with the Boston massacre and won great credit by his ability and impartiality." He died at Cambridge, April 2, 1783. William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall, who were leaders on the bench at the witch-craft trials in Salem, were ministers. Others of the court were John Richards, a merchant; Jonathan Curwin, a merchant; Waitstill Winthrop, a physician, as was Bartholomew Gedney, and Peter Sergeant, a merchant.

The legal fraternity in Middlesex in the early days were divided into barristers and attorneys. Just what constituted a barrister then is not known. Literally he would be one permitted to plead at the bar of the courts. In England at this time, one could only become a barrister after three years' residence in one of the Inns of the Court, if a graduate of Cambridge or Oxford, or five years if not. Evidently three years practice in the Inferior courts was the requirement in this country, and as evidently education was not a pre-requisite. Washburn, in his history of the Judiciary of Massachusetts, gives the names of twenty-five barristers as the total in Massachusetts in 1688, only one of whom was resident in Middlesex, Jonathan Sewall. He also mentions only sixteen

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more as being made before the Revolution, including Francis Dana of Cambridge, to whom reference has already been made; Daniel Bliss of Concord; and Jeremiah D. Rogers of Littleton.

When the Supreme Judicial Court was established in 1782, it was empowered to make such rules and regulations as it saw fit for the admission of attorneys, and the making of barristers. Counsellors seem to have been substituted for barristers in 1806. In 1836, the law provided that "every person admitted to practice in any court may practice in any other court of the state, and there shall be no distinction of counsellor and attorney."

**Court of Assistants**—The original Court of Assistants had on it a number of residents of Middlesex worthy of at least brief mention:

Thomas Dudley, assistant in 1635-36-41-42-43-44, was one of the founders of Cambridge in 1631. He lived in Roxbury the most of his life, dying there July 31, 1653. He was Deputy Governor, for years, and Governor in 1634-47-49.

John Haynes, assistant, 1634, 1636, was another Cambridge man, but, removing to Connecticut in 1637, became the first Governor of that Colony. He died in 1654.

Roger Harlakenden, assistant from 1636 to 1637, died in Cambridge, November 17, 1638.

Increase Nowell, assistant for many years, was secretary to the Colony from 1636 to 1649. He was founder of the Charlestown Church, in whose graveyard he was buried November 1, 1655.

Herbert Pelham, assistant from 1645 to 1649, was during his short stay in this country a resident of Middlesex.

Francis Willoughby, assistant for many years, was admitted as a freeman of Charlestown in 1638. Upon his death in 1671 he left 300 acres of land to the schools of his adopted city.

Daniel Gookin, who died in Cambridge, March 19, 1687, came to Virginia in 1621, to New England in 1644. He is known better for his superintendency over the Indians, and the author of a book on the tribes, published in 1792.

Simon Willard, assistant from 1654 to 1675, died while holding court at Charlestown, April 24, 1676.

Richard Russell, assistant from 1659 to 1676, came to Charlestown in 1640; was a selectman of that place for twenty-six years, and twenty years the Colonial treasurer. He died May 14, 1676, a wealthy merchant leaving a number of bequests to the town and to Harvard.

Thomas Danforth, assistant from 1659 to 1678, was Deputy Governor from 1659 to 1686, and served as General Court President of Maine until the arrival of Dudley in 1686. He was one of the first Judges of

the Superior Court of Judicature (which see), continuing on the bench until his death at Cambridge in 1699.

Peter Buckley, assistant from 1677 to 1684, graduated from Harvard in 1660, and although educated for the ministry became prominent in colonial affairs. Deputy to the General Court from Concord, 1673 to 1676, one of the judges of the Superior Court, 1688.

Thomas Flint, assistant from 1642 to 1651, settled in Concord in 1638.

James Russell, assistant from 1680 to 1686, was born in Charlestown, October 4, 1640. He was deputy to the General Court, one of the Council of Safety at the deposition of Andros, and Colonial Treasurer from 1680 to 1686. He died April 28, 1709.

**Judges of Probate and Insolvency**—The Massachusetts Colony ended its existence in 1691, when a new charter was issued under the name, Province of Massachusetts Bay. This charter reached the colonies in 1692, and among its provisions was that the General Court was empowered to establish courts and to try all kinds of criminal and civil cases. The Probate Court under another name dates from this year. Middlesex men serving as justices in the Probate Court from 1692, and of the Probate and Insolvency Court since 1858 are as follows:

James Russell of Charlestown, 1692 to 1702.

John Leverett of Cambridge, 1702 to 1708. Born in Boston, August 25, 1662; graduated from Harvard. He was a Selectman, 1699 and 1700; Councillor, 1706; Vice Judge Admiralty Court; Representative, 1696, 1699 and 1700; Justice of the Superior Court, 1702 to 1707; President of Harvard College, 1707 to 1724. "A man of ability, but a martinet in discipline and disposition." He died at Cambridge, May 3, 1724.

Hon. Francis Foxcroft, of Boston and Cambridge, 1708 to 1725. Born in England, November 13, 1657. He was a justice under Andros, and imprisoned for his loyalty in 1689. Representative from Dunstable in 1693. Judge Court of Common Pleas, 1707 to 1719, and Judge Probate, 1708 to 1725. An exceedingly able, influential and wealthy man. His wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of Governor Danforth. Francis Foxcroft, the second, Daniel, and Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, all of whom were officers of Middlesex County at various times, were his sons, and he was the grandfather of John, Register of Deeds for many years. Through father and sons this family have an official record in this county aggregating eighty-four years. A grandson served ten years, showing a service of ninety-four years prior to the Revolution in various offices. Should we add the public services of Francis first, previous to 1708, the aggregate would exceed the century mark. He died in Cambridge, December 31, 1727.

Jonathan Remington, of Cambridge, 1725 to 1745. Born, 1677. Grad-

uated from Harvard in 1696. Selectman Cambridge, 1712 and 1715 to 1719. Representative twelve years between 1714 and 1728. Councillor, 1730 to 1740. Judge Court Common Pleas, 1729 to 1745. Died September 30, 1745.

Samuel Danforth, of Cambridge, 1745 to 1775. Born in Dorchester, November 12, 1696. Graduated from Harvard in 1715. Selectman Cambridge, 1733 to 1799. Representative, 1734 to 1738. Councillor thirty-six years, 1739 to 1774. Justice Peace, Register Probate, 1731-1745. Judge Court Common Pleas, 1741 to 1745. Being a Royalist he ceased to hold office after the outbreak of the Revolution. Died in Boston, October 27, 1777.

John Winthrop, of Cambridge, 1775 to 1779. Born December 19, 1714. Graduated from Harvard in 1732. A descendant in the fourth generation from Governor Winthrop. Representative, 1774, Councillor, 1773, '75, and '76. He was the foremost mathematician and philosopher of his generation in America; a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Hollis professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard from 1738 until his death. He died in 1779.

Oliver Prescott, M. D., of Groton, 1779 to 1805. Born April 27, 1731, son of Benjamin Prescott, a blacksmith, who came to Groton in 1680, having had land granted him. Graduated from Harvard in 1750 with highest honors. He was a public-spirited citizen, and patriot to the very core. Town Clerk thirteen years, and Selectman thirty-two years. He was a Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier and Major-General of Militia, before and after the Revolution. President of the Massachusetts Medical Society, President of the Board of Trustees, Groton Academy, and a Fellow of the American Society of Arts and Sciences. During many years he was the most prominent physician in Northern Middlesex. He died in office, November 17, 1804.

James Prescott, of Groton, 1805 to 1821. Born April 19, 1766. Son of Colonel James Prescott. Graduated from Harvard in 1788. He was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas six years from June 3, 1805. After serving sixteen years as Judge of Probate, he was impeached by the House in 1821, tried by the Senate, and removed from office on charges which involved no questions of integrity or moral turpitude. This trial was one of the most famous in the annals of the General Court. Webster and other great lawyers participated in it. He died October 14, 1829.

Samuel Phillips Prescott Fay, of Cambridge, 1821 to 1856. Born in Concord, May 10, 1778. Graduated from Harvard in 1798. Appointed a captain in the American Army, organized to resist a threatened invasion of the French in 1798. Representative, 1808-9-10-11-12-15-16-17 and 1820. Member of the Governor's Council, 1818-19, and of the Con-

stitutional Convention of 1820. He was Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons in 1820. Overseer Harvard College, 1825 to 1852. Died in Cambridge, May 18, 1856.

William Adams Richardson, of Lowell, 1856 to 1872. Born in Tyngsboro, November 2, 1821. Graduated from Harvard in 1843. President Wamesit Bank, Lowell. Member Common Council, 1849, '53 and '54. President in the latter years. Member of all the Masonic bodies meeting in Lowell. Secretary United States Treasury, 1873. Chief Justice Court of Claims United States from January 21, 1885. Died in Washington, District of Columbia, October 19, 1896.

George Merrick Brooks, of Concord, 1872 to 1893. Born in Concord of Revolutionary stock, July 26, 1824. Graduated from Harvard in 1844. Representative, 1858; Senator, 1859; Representative in Congress, 1869 to 1871. Died in Concord, September 22, 1893, aged sixty-nine years.

Charles John McIntire, of Cambridge, 1893. Born in Cambridge March 26, 1842, and educated in the public schools. Member of the Common Council, 1866-67; Board of Aldermen, 1877; City Solicitor, 1886; Representative, 1869-70; Assistant District Attorney three years; 1872 to 1875. A veteran of the Civil War, having served in the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteers.

George Field Lawton, of Lowell and Cambridge, 1894. Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, October 17, 1845. Attended the public schools of his native city and graduated from Williams in 1868. A successful schoolmaster in Lowell for five years, and superintendent of schools from 1886 to 1891, when he resigned to give his attention to the practice of the law. Admitted to the bar in 1877. City Solicitor of Lowell, 1880-81-82-85, and 1886; resigned to accept the position of Superintendent of Schools. Judge Lawton is a veteran of the Civil War, having enlisted when eighteen years of age, in Company G, Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, serving the full period of his enlistment. He is sitting as one of the two Judges of Probate and Insolvency.

John C. Leggat, of Lowell, is now sitting as one of the two Judges of Probate and Insolvency.

**County Attorneys**—From 1780 to 1807 there appears to have been no regularly-appointed County Attorneys. Under the provision of Chapter 18, Section 1, of the Acts of 1807, the Governor was authorized to appoint "County Attorneys" to prosecute criminal cases in their respective counties.

Samuel Dana, of Groton and Charlestown, the first of the County Attorneys, 1807 to 1811. Born in Groton, June 26, 1767. Postmaster there, 1800 to 1804. Representative, 1803-25-26-27. Senator, 1805-6-7-8-9-10-11-12 and 1817. President of the Senate, 1807-11, and 1812.

Representative in Congress, 1814 and 1815. Member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and Presidential Elector same year. Chief Justice Circuit Court Common Pleas from October 14, 1816. Died November 20, 1835, aged sixty-eight years. Judge Dana's education was of the most ordinary character, supplemented by such assistance as he received from his father, who was a Harvard graduate, and minister at Groton for many years. Notwithstanding this, he became a great lawyer, and divided high honors with Hon. Timothy Bigelow as the ablest advocate at the bar in Northern Middlesex. During much of his official career he resided in Charlestown in a colonial mansion which stood on the southerly slope of Bunker Hill, overlooking the navy yard and the harbor of Boston. He was a man of fine personality, both physically and mentally.

Timothy Fuller, of Cambridge, 1811 to 1812. Born in Chilmark, July 11, 1778. Graduated from Harvard with second honors in 1801. Representative, 1825, 1827-1831. Speaker of House, 1825. Senator, 1813 to 1816. Councillor, 1828. Representative in Congress, 1817 to 1825. He was a man of ability, both as a lawyer and statesman. He was the father and early tutor of that eccentric and extraordinary literary genius, Sarah Margaret Fuller (Marchioness de Ossoli), who was reading Latin at six years of age, and at twenty-six was a close friend of Emerson, Hawthorne and Channing, and had earned the title of the "Priestess of Transcendentalism." She was perhaps the earliest, and certainly the ablest advocate of women's rights. Timothy Fuller died in Groton, October 1, 1835, of Asiatic cholera.

Asahel Stearns, of Chelmsford, Charlestown and Cambridge, 1813 to 1832. Born in Lunenburg, June 17, 1774. Graduated from Harvard in 1797. Preceptor of Groton Academy, afterwards settled in that portion of Chelmsford now Lowell. Representative General Court, 1817. Senator, 1813, 1830 and 1831. Representative in Congress, 1815 to 1817. In the legal profession he was distinguished for his great knowledge of the law. "Real Actions," published by him in 1824, is standard authority to this day. Harvard College wherein he was "University Professor of Law" from 1817 to 1839, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1825. In 1832 he was appointed a Commissioner on Revision of the General Statutes. He died in Cambridge, February 5, 1839.

Asahel Huntington, of Salem, 1832 to 1845. Born in Topsfield, July 23, 1798. Graduated from Yale in 1819. Settled in Salem, where he remained during the balance of an active career. Representative, 1827, 1829, 1831. Member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, and Mayor of Salem the same year. From 1832 to 1845, when Middlesex

and Essex formed the Northern District, he was District Attorney, and conducted with marked ability some of the most famous criminal cases in the annals of the court, having as antagonists such lawyers as Webster and Choate. In 1851 he was elected Clerk of Courts of Essex, and died in office, September 5, 1870.

Albert Hobart Nelson, of Woburn, 1845 to 1848. Born in Carlisle, (or Milford, Massachusetts), March 12, 1812. Graduated from Harvard in 1832. Senator, 1848-49. Member of the Council, 1855. Appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court, County of Suffolk, in 1855. A good lawyer and fine speaker. He broke down mentally and died June 27, 1858.

Charles Russel Train, of Framingham, 1848 to 1851. Born in Framingham, October 18, 1817. Graduated from Brown University in 1837. Representative from Framingham, 1847, and 1848, from Boston, 1868, 1870 and 1871. Representative in Congress, 1859 to 1863, Councillor, 1857 and 1858, Member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853. A member of the Common Council, Boston, 1867, 1868. Attorney-General Massachusetts, 1872 to 1878. Assistant Adjutant-General staff General Gordon in the Civil War. He was a lawyer and statesman of ability and prominence. Died at North Conway, New Hampshire, July 29, 1885.

Asa W. Farr, of Lowell, 1851 to 1853. Born in Sharon, Vermont, 1821. In 1841 he was a citizen of Lowell; in 1844 a printer connected with the "Vox Populi," which it is said that he edited at one time; in 1845 he became a lawyer, and in 1847 was associated with Benjamin F. Butler, under the firm name of Butler and Farr. Mr. Farr was appointed District Attorney by Governor Boutwell, and removed by his successor, suffering a fate meted out to most of the officials of his political faith. Disheartened and disgusted he soon went West, settling in Geneva, Walworth County, Wisconsin, from which place he was a member of the Wisconsin Assembly in 1856. He was a hero of the Civil War and gave his life to his country, being killed in action, October 3, 1863, at Baxter Springs, Kansas.

Charles R. Train, 1853 to 1855. (Before mentioned).

Isaac Stevens Morse, of Lowell and Cambridge, 1855 to 1872. Born in Haverhill, New Hampshire, December 27, 1817. City Solicitor Lowell, 1850 to 1852. Representative General Court, 1866. His career as an official was long, able, and efficient. He died in Boston, December 27, 1896.

John Benton Goodrich, of Newton, 1872 to 1874. Born in Fitchburg, January 7, 1836. Graduated from Dartmouth in 1857. From 1859 to 1865 he resided in Watertown, where he served upon the school committee. After settling in Newton he was continued upon the school

committee of that city during several years, and was a member of the General Court, 1869 and 1870. He died in Boston, January 11, 1900.

George Stevens, of Lowell, October 17, 1874 to 1879. Born in Stoddard, New Hampshire, October 23, 1824. Graduated from Dartmouth in 1849. After spending some time as a teacher, he settled in Lowell, where he gained an excellent reputation at the bar. Representative, 1858, and City Solicitor in 1867 and '68. He was a man of learning and a Christian gentleman. Died in Lowell, June 6, 1884.

John Wilkes Hammond, of Cambridge, September 6, 1879, to 1880. Born in Mattapoisett, of parents in moderate circumstances, December 16, 1837. After passing through the public schools, he entered Tufts College, from which he was graduated with high honors in 1861. He taught school a while and then enlisted in Company I, Third Massachusetts Volunteers, serving until the close of his enlistment. After his discharge from the service he taught in Wakefield, and was principal of the Melrose High School in 1865. In 1866 he settled in Cambridge and commenced the practice of law. He was Representative in 1872 and 1873, and City Solicitor from 1873 to March 10, 1886, when he was appointed a Justice of the Superior Court, from which he was advanced in 1898 to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court.

William Burnham Stevens, of Stoneham, 1880 to 1890. Born there March 23, 1843. Graduated from Dartmouth in 1865. A veteran of the Civil War, having served as a private in Company C, Fiftieth Massachusetts Volunteers. After retiring from the position of District Attorney, he practiced law with distinction for several years. He wrote and published an exceedingly able and interesting history of his native town. Was appointed in 1898 as a Justice of the Superior Court.

Patrick Henry Cooney, of Natick, 1890 to 1893. Born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, December 20, 1845. He was educated in Natick and West Newton, and was admitted to the bar in Suffolk County in 1868. In 1880 he was appointed Assistant District Attorney, and held the office until 1890, when he was elected District Attorney, having received the nomination of both parties. In 1893 he declined to be again a candidate, and retired from the office, since which time he has been engaged largely in defending corporations.

Frederick Newton Wier, of Lowell, 1893 to 1902. Born in Lowell, July 4, 1861. Graduated from Amherst College, class of '82; studied law at the Boston University Law School and in the office of J. M. Marshall in Lowell; graduated from the law school in 1887, and admitted to the bar in Middlesex County in the same year. Was in the office of Hon. A. L. Pillsbury, of Boston, until January, 1889, when a partnership was formed with Larkin T. Trull, in Lowell, under the firm name of Trull & Wier. Served as a member of the House of Repre-

sentatives of the Massachusetts Legislature during the years 1891 and 1892.

George Augustus Sanderson, Ayer, 1902. Born in Littleton, Massachusetts, July 1, 1863. Prepared for college at Lawrence Academy, Groton, Massachusetts. In 1885 he graduated from Yale University, and from the Boston University Law School in 1887, being admitted to the bar the same year. He began practice in Boston at once, still retaining his residence in Littleton, until his removal to Ayer in 1897. Appointed to the office of Assistant District Attorney in January, 1893, which office he held continuously to January 1, 1902. November 5, 1901, he was elected District Attorney.

Arthur K. Reading, Cambridge, 1922 to date.

**Prominent Members of the Bar**—No attempt can be made to even mention the many prominent members of the Middlesex bar, past and present. Two lines of county legal activity have been chosen, simply as suggestive of the many who have graced the bar of the County. If one will recall, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was a Middlesex man, Roger Sherman.

Roger Sherman was born at Newton, April 19, 1721, and was admitted to the bar in 1754, at the age of thirty-three. He was a member of the Assembly, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1759. Removing to New Haven he was successively: Judge of Common Pleas, an Assistant in 1766, and later Judge of the Superior Court. From 1774 on he was a member of Congress, a Senator, and until his death, July 23, 1793, Mayor of New Haven.

In the early days of the Law School at Cambridge, there were men such as Joseph Storey and Simon Greenleaf, neither of whom were natives of Middlesex, but whose long residence in Cambridge, closely associated them with the county.

Joseph Storey was born at Marblehead, September 18, 1779, graduated from Harvard, 1798, receiving the degrees of Doctor of Laws from Brown in 1815, Harvard in 1821 and Dartmouth in 1824. Besides holding office in the State and Nation, he was appointed by President Madison, Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court in 1811, when only thirty-two years old. In 1828, he was made Dane Professor of Law, in which position he served until his death, September 10, 1845. He is best remembered by his learning in the law as displayed in his voluminous writings.

Simon Greenleaf was an associate of Storey for a number of years as the Royall Professor of Law in the Dane School of Harvard. He was born in Newburyport, December 5, 1783, and admitted to the bar of Cumberland County in 1805. After distinguished service in Maine he came to Cambridge in answer to a call to the professorship. He re-

ceived the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1834; Amherst in 1845; Alabama College in 1852. Many of his writings are extant.

Some of the lawyers of Middlesex have gone into other lines of activity which have added lustre to their legal attainments.

Richard Dana, Jr., born in Cambridge, August 1, 1815, is probably better remembered as the author of "Two Years before the Mast," and for his non-legal writings rather than for being one of the founders of the Republican Party, or for his defense of fugitive slaves. He left Harvard because of ill-health, and, while making a journey to regain it, had the experiences that led to his first book, and his later nautical works. In 1866 he was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard; and from 1861 to 1865 was Lincoln's appointee as United States District Attorney. Dana died in Italy, January 6, 1882.

George Ticknor Curtis, was born in Watertown, November 28, 1812; graduated from Harvard in 1832; admitted to the bar in 1836, and was a representative to the General Court from 1840 to 1844. He was a voluminous writer on law subjects, many of his works being still quoted as authoritative. He, however, became a resident of New York, and although practicing in the Supreme Court, became more interested in literature and the production of it than law.

Many of the lawyers of the county played their part in the Civil War. some losing their lives, others taking up their work elsewhere, some attaining renown.

Nathaniel Prentiss Banks, a "bobbin boy" of Waltham, born January 30, 1816, was a newspaper editor, lawyer, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Member of Congress, and Speaker of the House (U. S.) and Governor of Massachusetts, all before he entered the Union Army in 1861. He rose to the rank of General and carried on many a notable campaign. After the war he was again returned to Congress, serving through the Thirty-ninth to the Forty-fifth inclusive. Was United States Marshal from 1879 to 1888, when he was again sent to the Fifty-first Congress.

Charles Devens, a native of Charlestown, born April 4, 1820, a graduate of Harvard, was a comrade-in-arms of General Banks, rising to the rank of brevet Major-General. In 1867 he was appointed to the Supreme Court bench, remaining until his appointment as Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1873. In 1877, he was made United States Attorney-General by President Hayes, after which he was returned to the Judicial bench in 1881.

George Sewall Boutwell, born at Brookline, January 28, 1818, was an associate of Banks and Devens. After holding a number of offices in the State he was elected Governor in 1851. He served in several positions connected with education from 1853-63, when he became a mem-

ber of Congress from 1863 to 1869. From 1869 to 1873 he was Secretary of the Treasury, and United States Senator from 1873 to 1877, when he retired from office-holding and went to his home in Groton, having law offices in Washington and Boston.

John Shepherd Keyes, was born in Concord, September 19, 1821; graduated from Harvard in 1841, and was admitted to the bar in 1844. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1849, and sheriff of the county from 1853 to 1860. Appointed by President Lincoln a United States Marshal in 1861, he served for three years. Later, 1874, he was made a standing justice of the Central Middlesex Court.

"An interesting incident in the life of Mr. Keyes is one connected with his membership of the Senate of 1849. In that year the Senate consisted of forty Whigs, and the House of Representatives of 260 members. Forty years later, 1889, only two of the Senators were living and only four of the Representatives in active life." These six included the four men whose life has been noted above, General Banks, George S. Boutwell, of the House, Charles Devens and John S. Keyes, of the Senate and William Claflin and Henry L. Dawes, also of the House. "Three of these men had been Governors, four Representatives in Congress, three United States Marshals, two members of the President's Cabinet, two United States Senators, two Major-Generals in the Army, one President of the Massachusetts Senate, one Speaker of both the Massachusetts and United States House of Representatives, and two judges."

Benjamin Franklin Butler, though born at Deerfield, New Hampshire (November 5, 1818), was decidedly one of Middlesex's famous lawyers, even if not the most loved. He came to Lowell when ten years old, graduated from a Maine College, and was admitted to the bar of Middlesex in 1841. A Democrat, he was elected to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth in 1853, and to the Senate in 1859. The Superior Court established in 1859, is said to be principally his work. In 1860, as a delegate to the Democratic Presidential Convention, he gave his influence to Breckenridge, the nominee of a split party, making himself decidedly unpopular at home. He stood for the Governorship but received one-tenth of his preceding vote for the office. At the outbreak of the Civil War Butler was made a Brigadier-General, and a Major-General a month later, but was relieved of his command in August of the first year. He was soon given another command, returning to Massachusetts to raise volunteer troops for Union service. With these troops he made a successful campaign down the Mississippi River, becoming the military Governor of New Orleans. From 1866 to 1871, he was a member of Congress, and in 1882 elected Governor of Massachusetts.

George Frisbie Hoar, who has brought so much honor to his State and profession, was born in Concord, August 19, 1826. After graduating from Harvard and the Dane Law School, he settled at Worcester and was shortly after, 1852, elected to the State Legislature. In 1857 he was in the Senate, and city Solicitor in 1860. From 1869 to 1875 he was a member of the Congress of the United States, declining further nominations to this office. He became a United States Senator in 1877, serving until his death. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and Amherst Colleges. He was an official in many organizations of a varied character, and a member of many others.

**Lowell in Legal History**—The remarkable growth made by Lowell after its founding as an industrial center in the early years of the last century attracted great numbers of native Americans to its shops and mills. The expansion also reacted on other classes, especially the legal. Not only did the experienced lawyer from other localities join his fortunes to that of the new town, but many of the young men began the study of law. Under the conditions that then held, the learning of law in the offices of their elders, it quite naturally turned out that the offices of full-fledged professionals became the schools of the unlearned. For a half century, a surprising number of young lawyers were graduates of the city law offices, and the bar made up of young practitioners who were locally trained.

In the beginning, the people and lawyers of the northern end of the county had to travel the, then, long distance to Cambridge or Concord. After the Revolution, Concord was the place where legal business must be transacted. The inconvenience of the arrangement stirred many a movement for the establishment of a court in this rapidly expanding section. Not until 1833, however, was the town of Lowell allowed even to have á police court, it being tied with Newburyport that year for the honor of having the third court of that character established in the Commonwealth. Even then, prisoners had to be sent to either Concord or Cambridge, for there was no jail until 1858. In 1835, Lowell was made one of the shire towns, which position it now shares with Cambridge. This added to the number of legal lights who located or settled there, and the old system in which all the lawyers of the county would gather at the shire town for a week of court, scattering afterwards to their respective country homes, was displaced, in a measure, but the more modern method of locating in the large places, and having those in need of legal talent seek the man rather than the lawyer seek the case.

One of the old time men in whose office a number of the Lowell men at the bar were trained, was Tappan Wentworth. Born in 1802; admitted to the bar of York County, Maine, in 1826, he settled at Lowell in 1833.

He was soon elected to the first common council of the newly chartered city, served several terms as State Senator, and was a candidate for Congress in 1852. He died in 1875, and by his will practically all his property except his law library given to Lowell, went to Dartmouth College.

Edward F. Sherman, 1821-1872, a former mayor of Lowell, was one of Tappan Wentworth's "graduates."

Theodore H. Sweetzer, also pursued his law studies with Wentworth. He was born in Vermont in 1821, studied at Amherst College, and was admitted to the bar in 1843. He was associated with Benjamin Poole and W. S. Gardner; elected City Solicitor in 1853-4 and 1859.

Seth Ames, one of the most distinguished of the jurists coming out of Middlesex County, was born in Dedham in 1805. He made his start and first reputation in Lowell, and as a teacher of young men was famous. He served as Alderman in 1836-7 and 1840; as State Senator in 1841; and City Solicitor from 1842-1849. He then moved to Cambridge and later to Brookline. Note has already been taken of his career as Associate and Chief Justice of the Superior Court when it was established in 1859.

Thomas Hopkinson, 1804-1856, was a product of Lowell's law offices and later was one of a firm which probably taught more young attorneys than any other. He was admitted to the bar in 1833 after graduating from Harvard and spending three years in the offices of Lawrence and Glidden of Lowell. In 1838 he was elected State Representative, again in 1847; he became Senator in 1845, and in 1848 was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Resigning in 1849, he became the president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad. His later life was spent in Cambridge.

Hopkinson and Ames formed a partnership, and one of the brilliant men who received his training with the firm, and who later became a member of it was Arthur Perkins Bonney. Mr. Bonney received his education both legal and secondary in Lowell. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar, soon afterwards joining the firm of his teachers. When Mr. Hopkinson was promoted to the bench, the firm name became Ames and Bonney. In 1868 Mr. Bonney was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court. In later life he was connected with many commercial enterprises.

The Richardson family of Tyngsborough had a number of representatives in the legal profession of Middlesex. The earliest American ancestor came with Winthrop in 1630 and was a member of the first board of Charlestown selectmen. His son, Captain Josiah, was one of the first settlers of Chelmsford, and the original owner of much of the land on which Lowell was built. The next several generations held official positions in the town and county. Daniel Richardson was a

successful lawyer of Tyngsborough, and served as both state representative and senator. Daniel Samuel Richardson, an elder son, (1816 to 1890), is credited with having argued three hundred cases in his long career which are included in Massachusetts reports. He also represented his city in the Legislature. William Adams Richardson, 1821-1917, after being judge of the probate court, 1856-58, judge of probate and insolvency, 1858-65, in Middlesex County, he was made assistant Secretary of the Treasury at Washington. Upon the retirement of George S. Boutwell in 1873, he became Secretary of the Treasury. A year later he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Claims, and in 1885 was made Chief Justice. George Francis Richardson, the youngest of the three sons, was a graduate of Harvard, and of the Dane Law School. He was judge of probate and insolvency for Middlesex County from 1858 on. He served in many official capacities, notably as senator in 1871-2, and was the distinguished mayor of Lowell during a crucial period, 1867-8.

Examples might be multiplied of the legal profession whose names rank high among their fellows. But no list could do justice, and any attempt to indicate the leaders would only result in the omission of a hundred whom many would consider foremost. In another section of this work can be found sketches of a number of leading living lawyers. Conditions have changed in matters of law and practice; in the evolution of law and the courts the tendency has been away from forensics and to the office settlement of many of the difficulties into which man thrusts his head. Laws have multiplied, but even so, in the early days of the Middlesex courts, many of the statutes now commonplaces were not on the books, and law was often made in the courts, and oratory was of more import than learning. There are enough rules that disqualify witnesses today, but what of the time when the principal business of an attorney was to quibble and trick, and keep up an eternal wrangle that would lead to the preventing of some important witness on the opposite side from giving testimony? Until 1855, no person, directly or indirectly, interested in the legal outcome of a litigation could give evidence. Until 1846 a jury decided the intent of the law as well as the facts brought out by the witnesses. Judges could make what amounted to an appeal to sway a jury, such as would be thoroughly reprehensible now. Many a case was argued and decided at the hotel dinner table before ever reaching court. Comparatively unimportant cases often brought out the foremost legal talent of the day; for example, the Wyman case over an embezzlement. Asahel Huntington and Rufus Choate were on one side; Franklin Dexter and Daniel Webster served the other. These celebrated cases, although minor in importance, were the schools of the young attorney of that day; they gathered from

all over the county to take their post-graduate work at the county seat. It was a training that the law schools did not give.

Frederick W. Coburn, in his "History of Lowell," points out another factor in the difference between the legal profession of the ante-bellum period and the present. Although speaking of only one city, his words are applicable to the county in general:

> Conditions for the practice of law in Lowell since the Civil War have not been exceptional or notable, as American cities go. The development of the case system at the Harvard Law School and elsewhere, and the general improvement of law school training, have caused more and more of the local candidates for the profession to secure the major part of their legal education in Greater Boston. The tendency of young lawyers to settle in the largest cities, apparent everywhere, has worked against the development of the legal profession in Lowell; though no one could truthfully say, at any time in the past fifty years, that the city has had too few lawyers. The increasingly close association of legal practice and political activity have helped to make the attorney's career attractive to bright young men of Irish parentage; some of the best mentalities in the calling since 1865 or thereabouts have been of this stock. On account of absentee ownership of the manufacturing corporations and the nearness of Boston with its abundance of law firms of national reputation, much of what may be called the "big business" of law, as it affects Lowell, has been transacted from offices at "the Hub." Because, on the other hand, of a relatively large amount of petty criminality in a polyglot population, practice under the criminal code has undoubtedly engaged the attention of a larger proportion of the local bar than in some American cities. The lawyer's vocation thrives best, especially in these latter days, where the largest property interests are accumulated, and Lowell remains, because of the incessant and automatic withdrawal of the surplus value of its workers' product to other communities, a poor city.

# CHAPTER XIII

## EDUCATION.

The history of education in Middlesex County is interesting, if for no other reason than that a college was started within its boundaries before even the few settlers in the district had provided permanent shelter for themselves. The Puritans were exceedingly religious, and as "yet their only place of worship in Boston was built with mud walls and a roof thatched with straw." They were ill, more than a fifth of them dying within the first six months; they were threatened with starvation, and yet they started providing for the education of their youth. Three years after the Winthrop settlement of what is now Middlesex, Harvard College was founded, which for half a century was the only English college in America. Although only three miles inland the place in which it was located was a frontier town, and the imminence of attack by the Indians was such that a palisade was built around it. The town itself had its name changed in honor of the great English University to Cambridge. Any people, who descended from folk that living in a new and hard country, with the forest and the stony land to subdue, houses, barns and churches to build, could still give its attention to the creation of a school, must have a history in the progress of education worth the recounting.

The story of Harvard University with its present scores of buildings, more than a hundred millions in funds and equipment, 1,350 teachers and officers, and 8,000 students, is told in another chapter. This is but one institution among several other colleges, many private secondary schools, and hundreds of public schools. It is important not simply because of its size and priority of foundation, but because it has dominated the educational progress of the state, and often set the pace for education at large. The first printing press in America was set at this same Cambridge, and it became the center of book publication in the Colonies. Rev. Henry Dunster was made head of the College in 1640; he did more "for education and discipline in America" than many of the educators of this country. That the college was intended for more than the education of a few in the higher branches of learning may be seen from a description of the school as printed in a work in 1643. "The edifice is very fair and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall, where they meet daily in Commons, Lectures, Exercises and a large library with some books in it; their chambers and studies

also fitted and possessed by the students, and all the other rooms of office necessary and convenient; and by the side of the college a fair Grammar School for the training up of young scholars."

The "grammar school" of that day, and for a century and a half more, was not that which is so characterized now, or even related to it. It was a place where Latin and Greek were taught, and as spoken languages as well as to be read. A teacher had to be a thoroughly trained man, even polished and literary, to be successful. Both teacher and student had to do their work with few books, and more often none except the Bible, and a few masterpieces in Latin and Greek. There were no English grammars, arithmetics, or spelling books. The book of Nature and the Word of God furnished the reading matter, and the sources of education. Someone has suggested that the high type of English spoken by the natives of New England, owes its good qualities to the early familiarity with the Old and New Testaments. Many of the leaders in the first migrations to Massachusetts were some of the most highly educated men of their day. Of the first fifteen towns settled in New England, the ministers of their churches were mostly Oxford and Cambridge men, men who were noted preachers in the mother country. It was because of their prominence and education that they came to this country. Most of these men brought libraries with them; one, John Harvard, had two hundred and sixty of which we have a catalogue. "There is not probably now a private library in America, of the same number of volumes, so well selected and so valuable." The minister was often the teacher of the community, or if not, the schoolmaster was close to the head in importance in the town. To show proper respect for the teacher it was provided that his seat should come next to the seats of the magistrates, in church. Often the building erected before the construction of the church, and be it remembered that the church was the center around which the town was organized, was a schoolhouse. More often, however, teaching was held in private homes, the teacher circulating around the neighborhood. It was a half century after the arrival of Winthrop that the schoolhouse became a familiar feature of the landscape, and the regular summer and winter sessions of teaching common.

Educational Law—In 1847 Lord Macaulay in a speech before Parliament made reference to the law of the Puritans, laid down two centuries previously, which was the foundation of common-school education in this country. Said he in part:

> I say, therefore, that the education of the people ought to be the first concern of the state.... It is the opinion of the great champions of civil and religious liberty in the Old World and the New; and of none more emphatically than of those whose names are held in the highest estimation by the Non-conformists of England. If there

BANCROFT SCHOOL, MAYNARD

HIGH SCHOOL, MAYNARD

be any class of men whom they respect more highly than another.... it is that class of men, who, in the days of Archbishop Laud, preferred leaving their native country, and living in the savage solitudes of the wilderness, rather than live in a land of prosperity and plenty, where they could not enjoy the privilege of worshipping their Maker freely, according to the dictates of their conscience. These men, illustrious forever in history, were the founders of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; but, though their love of freedom of conscience was illimitable and indestructible, they could see nothing servile or degrading in the principle, that the state should take upon itself the charge of the education of the people. In the year 1642 (1647?) they passed their first legislative enactment on this subject; in the preamble of which they distinctly pledged themselves to this principle, that the matter of education was a matter of deepest possible importance, and the greatest possible interest to all nations and to all communities; and that, as such, it was, in an eminent degree, deserving of the peculiar attention of the state.

The preamble mentioned will not be quoted but the law referred to was as follows:

It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall forthwith appoint one within the town to teach such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by the way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint, provided, those that send their children shall not be oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught in other towns; and it is further ordered, that, where a town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct the youth so far as they may be fitted for the university, provided that, if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that such town shall pay five pounds to the next school, till they perform this order.

In 1683, October 10, the following law was added: "The Court doth order that whenever a town has five hundred families, it shall support two grammar schools and two writing schools." Manual training may be said to have been introduced by an act of June 14, 1642, whereby the "prudential" authorities of a town should "have the power to take account, from time to time, of all parents and masters, and of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion, and the capital laws of the country, and to impose fines." Trades were to be taught those children, materials such as hemp, flax, etc., with the tools with which to work them supplied by the towns. One other article of this law should be noticed, "for their better performance of their trust committed to them, they may divide the town amongst them, appointing to each of the townsmen a certain number of families to have oversight of."

In these laws are to be found the foundation of the common school system of Massachusetts. Education was to be taken in hand by the people themselves through officials elected by the people, and this was an entirely novel proceeding, state provision for education being not

only almost unknown, but as seen by Macaulay's argument nearly two centuries later, one of the things still lacking in the English system of education. The Puritan laws laid the foundations for the elementary or country school, where was taught the three R's; for the secondary school, the grammar school with its limited curriculum intended to prepare for college; for the higher school or university, although that institution was little more than a training school for ministers in the beginning. Both religious and industrial training was provided for, and the germ of the district school system, the system that ruled the state educational work until a better scheme was substituted centuries later. In every way the laws were remarkable, particularly when it is realized that the makers were so recently come from England and were steeped in the educational traditions of that country.

There was practically no change in the major school laws until after the Revolution. The town was the unit of school administration. In 1789 a law was enacted that legalized a practice that was growing, and which had been made possible by the law of 1683, that is, the districting of a town, or the dividing it into sections for the management of school affairs. In 1827, the district was empowered to become a corporation, could tax itself to build and furnish schoolhouses, and select teachers. As one writer comments, this was "the high-water mark of modern democracy, and the low-water mark of the Massachusetts school system." By 1850 the district system was in force in 316 of the 333 towns in the state, and in Middlesex County there were only two where this system was not in operation. The average for the state was nine districts to the town, some having as many as forty. It was, of course, proving itself to be a very expensive and inefficient system.

**First Board of Education**—A Board of Education was created in 1837, and at the first meeting held on June 29, Horace Mann, at that time President of the Senate, was appointed its secretary. A most successful lawyer and legislator, he at once gave up his profession and devoted all his energies to the cause of education. He recognized the weakness of the district school system and started his long fight against it. In 1838, a law allowed two or more districts to form a union school. In 1850 the General Court passed a law instructing towns how to dispose of the district schoolhouses in case it was decided to abolish the districts. By 1860 nearly a third of the towns in the state, containing half the total population, had abandoned the district system. In 1859 and 1869, the district was abolished but later restored; not until 1882 was the district finally abolished.

The year 1882 marked the beginning, legally, of the consolidation period which is still in force. More and more the number of schools have been, and are being reduced, and the facilities of the consolidated

school improved and increased. The reasons for this movement are not hard to find. Until 1850 the larger part of the state was given over to agriculture; by that year more people were engaged in manufacturing. In 1800 there were no railroads; by 1850 all the main lines had been laid. Cities had increased, the people of the rural sections were being drawn into industrial centers, leaving many country schools high and dry, or enfeebled. The way out of the dilemma was to join these feeble schools into a few strong ones.

When the first consolidation of schools took place is unknown. The ancient grammar schools were nearly always central schools. Before 1850, central intermediate schools were common. As far back as 1847, Boston had established a graded school in which classes had separate class rooms. Greenfield united three small schools into one in 1869. Concord, in both state and county, takes the palm for the first complete consolidation of its schools, closing the first of the district schools in 1879, and the last five in 1887. Today practically every town in Middlesex has eliminated the most of the district schools. The present problem is one of transportation, consolidation having progressed so far, that, not only are pupils brought to a center from greater distances, but those nearby must be provided with vehicles.

Few of the schools are in open country as in the West, Middlesex towns being either too densely populated, or have villages in which are clustered the stores, banks, churches and post office, and where more people reside than in all the outlying sections. The village is the capital of the town, and it is here that the central school naturally finds its location. There are many advantages derived from this arrangement, the simple association of rural and village children being of educative value to both. The graded school, too, is better than the mixed school. The creation of high schools of good size makes for a strong school with numerous and special teachers, the country boy and girl being provided with the means of gaining a secondary education that was all but impossible under the district system. The junior high is the more recent modification and improvement of the high school system. It is coming so fast in favor, that the consolidation of the upper elementary grades is being increasingly done wherever it is possible.

**The High School**—The high school, as previously mentioned, is the outgrowth of the law of 1627, requiring every town of more than five hundred to set up a grammar school for the study of the dead languages in preparation for college (Harvard). This law was re-affirmed, or re-enacted, two centuries later. In 1835 smaller towns than five hundred were permitted to have such schools; in 1891 towns of fewer than five hundred, not having high schools, were required to furnish tuition; in 1913 they were also required to furnish transportation to other towns

having such schools. All these laws were but simple modifications of the original act, and had for their intention the placing within the reach of everyone the possibility of securing a secondary education. A new law of 1918 looks to this same end in providing that the state can aid high schools of less than four years, and reimburse towns for the tuition and transportation of pupils sent to high schools elsewhere from towns of less than five hundred population. This law greatly helps those towns that are not then maintaining high schools but able with state aid to maintain junior high schools; and those that are keeping up small four-year high schools when they could better keep up junior highs, sending the older pupils to other towns and cities. It assists the remote town to and from which it is inexpedient to send pupils every day. Lastly, it bases state aid upon the number of high school teachers instead of limiting it to an arbitrary $500 as formerly.

With the improvement in the school system, and the enormous increase in the number of pupils to be cared for, came the necessity of providing more and better teachers. Massachusetts was a pioneer in the birth and development of the normal school. Elisha Ticknor suggested as early as 1787 that there should be an institution for the education of teachers. In 1817, Denison Olmsted made a like suggestion; in 1823, William Russel proposed seminaries for teachers; in 1825, Thomas A. Galaoudet did the same in Connecticut; and a year later, Governor DeWitt Clinton in New York. Governor Levi Lincoln in 1827, pled for "measures for the preparation and better qualifications of teachers;" in 1827, James G. Carter asked for the establishment of a teachers' seminary. Phillips Andover had a teachers' department in 1830. In 1837, the Committee on Education was requested by a Mr. King to consider the expediency of providing by law for the better education of the teachers of the public schools; a Board of Education was established at this time, with Horace Mann as its secretary.

One of the first acts of this Board was the setting up of schools for the special training of teachers. Two normal schools were founded (there have been ten so established since), one of which was located at Lexington, this for the education of female teachers. This opened in July of 1839. The first normal school in America, was under the management of Cyrus Peirce, and had but three students. The number of attendants rapidly increased, and the five years spent in Lexington were profitable ones. The accommodations were provided in an academy building given by the town. To establish the school on a more permanent basis, with better buildings, it was removed to West Newton in 1844, and subsequently to Framingham. This school has grown amazingly both in numbers and equipment. The entering classes average about 200, 204 in 1924, while the total enrollment is close to 500, 520 in

1924. The Framingham school has a four-year course; its specialty being that in Household Arts, Teachers and Supervisors, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education.

There have been graduated about thirty thousand teachers from the ten normal schools in the State. In 1924 the entering classes numbered 1,526, the total enrollment amounting to 3,464. Probably $6,000,000 is invested in the State plants with their equipment.

The Lowell Normal School specializes in the training of teachers for elementary schools. The entering class of 1924 was 163 in number; the whole enrollment 310. Two and three-year courses are provided, the latter including one year spent in teaching, on salary.

Lowell has another State school, the Textile School, providing instruction to both day and night students, in cotton and wool manufacturing, textile design, engineering, and chemistry. In 1924 there was an enrollment of 230 in the various branches. Evening courses were supplied to many of the towns and cities in Middlesex, the total registration in these classes being 767.

**Pupils and Teachers**—In the histories of the towns of Middlesex, Chapter XXII, there are somewhat full stories of the development of the public schools in each place. One who is interested in this detail may find it there. The following tabulation of the town valuations, expenditures, numbers of pupils and teachers for Middlesex County is taken from the annual report of the Board of Education for the school year ending June, 1924:

| Cities | Valuation | Teachers | Pupils | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cambridge | $152,319,800 | 531 | 17,569 | $1,413,080.82 |
| Everett | 48,052,775 | 265 | 8,770 | 568,688.61 |
| Lowell | 136,516,501 | 432 | 14,469 | 1,172,166.02 |
| Malden | 51,770,550 | 224 | 8,678 | 549,830.06 |
| Marlborough | 14,478,817 | 66 | 2,095 | 138,220.87 |
| Medford | 47,478,300 | 251 | 7,836 | 559,450.72 |
| Newton | 102,091,600 | 341 | 9,438 | 864,174.64 |
| Somerville | 92,528,400 | 404 | 15,061 | 937,595.96 |
| Waltham | 42,880,150 | 153 | 4,409 | 335,558.00 |
| Woburn | 17,335,421 | 93 | 3,381 | 193,605.11 |
| **Towns of 5000** | | | | |
| Acton | 2,546,220 | 11 | 322 | 39,581.92 |
| Arlington | 33,764,000 | 140 | 3,958 | 331,888.85 |
| Ashby | 941,822 | 9 | 210 | 21,424.28 |
| Ashland | 2,226,475 | 13 | 458 | 33,104.82 |
| Ayer | 3,277,065 | 18 | 510 | 35,078.49 |
| Bedford | 2,485,971 | 8 | 247 | 29,306.46 |
| Belmont | 19,451,085 | 78 | 2,897 | 196,045.56 |
| Billerica | 7,417,529 | 31 | 1,063 | 77,498.99 |
| Boxborough | 346,020 | 3 | 53 | 10,636.89 |
| Burlington | 1,646,165 | 6 | 217 | 21,441.85 |

| Cities | Valuation | Teachers | Pupils | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carlisle | 612,673 | 4 | 92 | 14,425.20 |
| Chelmsford | 6,719,650 | 42 | 1,315 | 99,895.60 |
| Concord | 7,491,854 | 48 | 1,403 | 140,691.77 |
| Dracut | 3,465,571 | 33 | 1,133 | 68,229.65 |
| Dunstable | 446,703 | 2 | 73 | 7,270.04 |
| Framingham | 25,955,626 | 122 | 3,746 | 264,365.21 |
| Groton | 3,302,047 | 16 | 470 | 43,262.10 |
| Holliston | 2,782,326 | 16 | 492 | 33,032.51 |
| Hopkinton | 2,212,337 | 14 | 460 | 30,158.03 |
| Hudson | 6,505,629 | 35 | 1,150 | 74,860.22 |
| Lexington | 12,603,789 | 55 | 1,786 | 131,353.41 |
| Lincoln | 2,194,319 | 10 | 228 | 27,093.56 |
| Littleton | 1,762,460 | 10 | 252 | 23,839.68 |
| Maynard | 5,769,884 | 48 | 1,749 | 90,761.52 |
| Melrose | 25,510,250 | 99 | 3,338 | 261,308.01 |
| Natick | 10,294,750 | 66 | 2,295 | 165,013.64 |
| North Reading | 1,755,420 | 6 | 224 | 26,065.79 |
| Pepperell | 2,931,806 | 16 | 501 | 34,282.13 |
| Reading | 10,410,283 | 51 | 1,735 | 143,350.90 |
| Sherborn | 1,938,002 | 10 | 267 | 22,069.92 |
| Shirley | 1,901,570 | 8 | 235 | 26,097.51 |
| Stoneham | 8,694,575 | 42 | 1,283 | 105,747.53 |
| Stow | 1,601,036 | 8 | 220 | 19,954.00 |
| Sudbury | 1,718,010 | 10 | 233 | 21,448.34 |
| Tewksbury | 3,039,320 | 13 | 417 | 40,501.19 |
| Townsend | 2,027,118 | 14 | 396 | 30,093.34 |
| Tyngsborough | 1,088,442 | 6 | 209 | 18,217.98 |
| Wakefield | 17,663,795 | 97 | 3,199 | 220,421.26 |
| Watertown | 32,276,091 | 125 | 4,000 | 287,211.88 |
| Wayland | 4,413,415 | 15 | 388 | 39,552.28 |
| Westford | 3,818,966 | 26 | 492 | 50,521.06 |
| Weston | 6,330,162 | 16 | 449 | 55,301.54 |
| Wilmington | 2,699,643 | 19 | 671 | 38,811.03 |
| Winchester | 23,784,425 | 68 | 1,874 | 179,855.94 |

**Massachusetts Institute of Technology**—In Chapter XII can be found the story of Harvard University given at length. It is not, however, the only school for higher education in the county, or even in Cambridge.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in its handsome quadrangle on the Cambridge Esplanade of the Charles, looms as largely in the eye of a visitor as one of the architectural glories of the City, as its work in scientific education has done in the recent history of State and Nation. The foundation of the Institute was laid in a "Memorial" prepared in 1859 by William B. Rogers and presented to the Legislature in 1860, in which reference was made to "the expected early establishment of a comprehensive Polytechnic College, furnishing a complete system of industrial education supplementary to the general training of

other colleges, instituting a society of arts, a museum of arts, and a school of industrial science, and aiding generally by suitable means the advancement, development and practical application of science in connection with arts, agriculture, manufactures and commerce. Although the Institute was organized during the following year, it was unable to function during the subsequent three years because of the Civil War. A preliminary session with fifteen students was held in February of 1865, and the regular course of instruction was begun in October of that year. A site on Boylston Street was granted by the State; here for fifty years the work of the Institute steadily enlarged, its students increased from fifteen to 1,900, its instructors from 10 to 300, and its courses of study leading to the B. S. degree from six to fifteen. Today it is giving instruction in nineteen departments of study, the largest of which are in engineering, civil, mechanical, electrical and chemical. Its department of architecture has had an important influence in City and State; the striking feature in recent years of its engineering work has been the widening service performed in the extension of engineering principles and of the results of research to serve great industries; this service is also an important product of the department of chemistry, of mining and of metallurgy, and of physics. The present registration of the Institute is 2,930 students; the significance of its function as the highest type of scientific school is seen in the fact that of its students of the past year, thirty per cent were graduates and students from colleges, representing 142 American and 55 foreign colleges and universities. The United States Army Engineer Corps sent during the year, nine engineer officers for training in Civil Engineering, some of whom were on the staff of instruction at West Point, while the Coast Artillery and other corps of the Army sent officers for study in electrical engineering, and in the department of naval architecture and marine engineering, officers of the Navy were enrolled for graduate work. Nor should mention be omitted of the long list of publications on all phases of the problems of applied science by the instructors of the Institute and their service as consultants so largely drawn upon by the public utilities, state departments and industrial plants.

**Radcliffe College**—Radcliffe College, in Cambridge, has had from its beginnings an essential relation of structure and of spirit with Harvard. Begun in 1879 as the "Collegiate Institute for Women"—popularly known as the "Harvard Annex"—it was authorized in 1896, as Radcliffe College, "to furnish instruction and the opportunities for collegiate life to women, and to promote their higher education"; and "to confer on women all honors and degrees as fully as any university or college in this Commonwealth is now so empowered respecting men or women,—*provided, however,* that no degree shall be so conferred by the said Rad-

cliffe College except with the approval of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, given on satisfactory evidence of such qualification as is accepted for the same degree when conferred by Harvard University. Further, it may confer at any time upon the President and Fellows of Harvard College such powers of visitation and of direction and control over its management as the said Radcliffe College may deem it wise to confer, and the said President and Fellows of Harvard may consent to assume." Under this provision, and with the consent of the Board of Overseers, the President and Fellows of Harvard College have been constituted the Board of Visitors of Radcliffe College; and they have authorized the President to countersign the diplomas of Radcliffe College and to affix to them the seal of Harvard University. The administration of the affairs of Radcliffe College and the powers and functions of all its officers are subject to the direction and control of the Board of Visitors, and no instructor or examiner may be appointed, employed or retained without their approval. In general, although not all members of the Harvard faculty are upon the staff of instruction at Radcliffe, the courses of study are identical with courses offered in Harvard University and of the same grade. The administrative principles governing entrance examinations, choice of electives and degree requirements, are those of Harvard. Radcliffe confers upon undergraduates the degree in arts, and graduate courses in Harvard are open to competent Radcliffe students. Radcliffe itself also offers opportunity for graduate study leading to the higher degrees in art and philosophy, to her own graduates and to those of other colleges for women. The registration in the undergraduate department is 563 women, in the graduate department, 190.

**Tufts College**—Tufts College on College Hill in Medford, was founded in 1852, as the result of an Educational Convention of members of the Universalist faith held in New York City in 1847; it bears the name of the donor of the land on which in 1853 the first building, Ballou Hall, was erected. The formal opening of the college was in 1855, with a total of thirty students. Until 1865 the School of Liberal Arts was the only department; in that year an Engineering School was inaugurated and the Divinity School, now the Crane Theological School, was added in 1869. The Medical School was established in 1893, the Bromfield-Pearson School in 1894, the Dental School in 1899, and the Summer School of Biology at South Harpswell, Maine, in 1898. The Tufts School of Engineering is one of the oldest in the country, and with its auxiliary, the Bromfield-Pearson School forms, next to the Medical School, the largest department in the college. It offers courses leading to the degree of B. S. in Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Chemical Engineering. It has 365 students. The School of Liberal Arts has

260 students; one feature of its curriculum is a well developed pre-medical and pre-dental course. The Medical School is the largest of the group of schools included under the name of Tufts College; like the Medical School of Boston University it has been coeducational from the beginning. Its building is on Huntington Avenue, in Boston. Traditionally it has held to a practical type of medical curriculum and instruction, and its main function has been the training not of research scholars in medicine, laboratory investigators, or masters of medical theory, but of qualified practitioners. There are 478 students. The Dental School, with 371 students, is also on Huntington avenue, in Boston; it was founded in 1899 by the absorption of the Boston Dental College. Tufts College confers, in addition to its undergraduate degrees and those in its professional schools, the higher academic degrees of Master of Arts, Master of Science, in its graduate school. Thus the college with its buildings "on the hill" and in the City, combines in a sense the life of a country college of the traditional type and the advantages of a city college, and with its 2,094 students and its associated schools is in all but name a university.

**Phillips, Andover and Exeter**—The private schools for secondary education in Middlesex County, of which there are many, some of which are of ancient origin, some of which have far more than local fame, had their start in a dissatisfaction with the teaching of the public schools under the district system. To this several noted exceptions should be made, notably the one kept by the side of Harvard.

For that matter, nearly all the first schools of the colonists were private schools, and this remained true of the so-called "grammar schools" as that term was used for the first century of Massachusetts' history. It might even be said that the private academy is the descendant of these "grammar schools." They, however, had ceased to be a factor of any great importance prior to the Revolution. There were not enough of trained teachers, and there were too many more lucrative positions opening in the rapidly developing colony, hence the falling off in the number of grammar schools. The high school is the real descendant of this type of early school.

Public education, or the control of education by the town and district, supplied elementary training of a sort, but the higher branches of learning were neglected. There grew up many, very many schools, but few good ones, and few that taught more than the three R's. To overcome this weakness, "academies" were founded. Two famous ones were started as early as 1777 by the Phillipses of Andover and of Exeter, later being endowed by their founders. Andover was the first incorporated academy in the State, October 4, 1780, the one at Exeter being incorporated six months later. The great increase in these academies and

private schools came after the establishment of the United States, and by 1834, there are said to have been nine hundred and fifty of these schools in the State. Sometimes they were endowed by public-spirited citizens, sometimes by land grants from the state or town, but more often by subscription, or stock sale, given or subscribed to by the residents of a town. Many had good men at their heads, a few of the schools were worth while, but the most of them were poor both in money and scholarship of the teachers, but better than the public school of that time. The vast majority of these old time academies have passed away, the buildings, which often were of very strong construction, being used for various purposes.

**Other Well-Known Schools**—Lawrence Academy, another famous academy that has survived to the present day, was founded in 1793. It was formed from a desire on the part of the townspeople to establish an academy where a higher education could thus be obtained than was given at the district schools. On April 27, 1792, the association organized by choosing trustees and the other customary officers, and from this as a beginning sprang the institution known formerly as Groton Academy, and now as Lawrence Academy. When it was first opened in the spring of 1793, the exercises were held in the district schoolhouse on Farmer's Row. The Lawrence Brothers, both Amos and William, were most generous in their gifts to the academy. In the spring of 1841 the Academy building was remodeled for the first time, and somewhat enlarged by an addition to the rear at a cost of $2,000, which was generously given for the purpose by Amos Lawrence. In the spring of 1844, William Lawrence, an elder brother of Amos', gave the sum of $10,000 to be added to the permanent fund of the institution. In consequence of this liberal gift and other manifestations of their interest in the school the trustees voted at the annual meeting, on August 20, 1845, to petition the General Court to change the corporate name of the school to "The Lawrence Academy of Groton." This was duly presented to the Legislature and granted on February 28, 1846. They continued to give handsomely to the academy even after the change in its name, each bequeathing large sums and estates to the academy on their deaths. A celebration in connection with the history of the academy was held July 12, 1854, when an address was delivered by the Rev. James Means, a former principal of the institution. It was a distinguished gathering and known at that time as the "Jubilee." The centennial anniversary of the academy was held in 1893, at which time many distinguished people were present, the proceedings of the occasion being printed in pamphlet form.

The Groton School for Boys is also located here, beautifully situated amid the New England hills. The Lowthorpe School of Landscape

Architecture, Horticulture, and Gardening for Women, and the Shaw School for young boys, founded in 1913, are also located here, all well equipped with the most modern methods of teaching, and for building up the body and mind of the students.

Lasell Seminary, a school station of Newton, was established in 1851 by Edward Lasell, Professor of Chemistry in Williams College, and incorporated in the same year. Professor Lasell lived only long enough to see his plans for a girls' school of high rank successfully carried out. In 1874 there were twenty pupils; the building was doubled in size in 1881 at a cost of over thirty thousand dollars; yet every year from thirty to forty applicants are refused for want of room, the persistent policy being in favor of a small school. Many new improvements have been made since the school was first built; the seminary offering thorough courses in literary and musical work, and also excellent work in Home Economics and Secretarial Training, being one of the first seminaries to install a home economic course, believing the chief business of women to be home-making. They were also a pioneer in another direction, that of giving students an opportunity to learn the peculiarities of the law as applied to women. With all this practical work the standard of the school had constantly risen. The persistent refusal to gratify a natural ambition for a *large* school bears its fruit in the more careful attention to those who share its many rich opportunities. The seminary accommodates 220 students.

The Mount Ida School for Girls, a non-sectarian institution, established in 1902, has unusual advantages in the line of musical training, in addition to its preparatory and finishing work.

In 1907, The Country Day School, a non-sectarian school for boys, was established, of special interest to parents who wish their boys to have home influences and control. This unique school takes care of boys from 10 to 18 years of age, from 9 A. M. to 5.30 P. M.; there are no boarders. Shirley K. Kerns is the head master.

The Allen Military School for Boys, from 9 to 19, is a worthy successor to the name and reputation of the famous Allen School of West Newton, whose alumni have honored every profession in every State and country. Here the boys are fully prepared for college or technical schools.

The Fessenden School for Boys, situated on the edge of Newtonville, with extensive athletic fields, and an adjacent golf course forming part of the grounds, has exceptional educational advantages, fitting the boys for higher preparatory schools.

A new boarding and country day school for younger girls, the "Woodland Park," was opened in September, 1918.

The Allen School for Young Ladies is at West Newton, Miss Lucy E. Allen, Principal.

The Belmont Hill School, beautifully situated at the top of Belmont Hill, amid acres of field and woodland, is a non-sectarian school accepting country day and a limited number of boarding boys. It was established in 1923, and the curriculum provides a well-balanced course based upon the English educational system, with an open-minded application of practical progressive methods.

In 1794, Mr. Pemberton, who had been for eight years the first principal of Phillips Academy, at Andover, came from that position to Billerica, and established a school, which was properly known as the Pemberton Academy. He was one of the most notable educators of his time, and counted among his pupils such noted men as James Madison and Aaron Burr. Mr. Pemberton conducted this school for fourteen years. Later a private school was established by Bernard Whitman, and his sister, Bathsheba, kept in the hall of the old hotel. But, in 1820, the Billerica Academy was established, Mr. and Miss Whitman assuming charge, but it closed its career in 1836. From that time until 1852, the only opportunity for higher education in the town was a private school, conducted by Rev. Mr. Stearns, in the vestry of the Congregational Church, of which he was the pastor. In 1850, Dr. Howe set about a more substantial foundation, and the results of his benevolent plans remain, and must long endure in the Howe School. Early in 1879 Professor M. C. Mitchell removed his Boys' School from Edgartown to Billerica. In January, 1888, the building on Main Street was burned down, and a new building was erected on the Bedford Road, which still continues as a Boys' Military School.

The Central Village Academy of Lowell, familiarly known as "Dracut Academy" was incorporated in 1833. The Academy building of two stories, standing near the site of the present Varnum Schoolhouse, was first occupied by a school in 1836. But these academies in New England ceased to be necessary with the inauguration of the high schools, and this one was abandoned as early as 1851, when Centralville was annexed to Lowell, the building becoming the property of the town, and the Varnum School was opened here.

The Rogers Hall School for Girls in the Belvidere district of Lowell, was founded in 1892, by the generosity of Miss Elizabeth Rogers, who gave her home to the work of educating girls. She persuaded Mrs. Underhill to join her in this work and it is to the latter that credit must be given for the creation of a preparatory school of so high a character. Upon the death of Miss Rogers in December, 1898, her entire property, amounting to $130,000, came into the possession of Rogers Hall. Under the leadership of Miss Olive Parsons, it is now one of the prominent girls' schools in New England. The buildings are four in number: Rogers Hall, Rogers House, Rogers Cottage and the Gymnasium.

The first benefaction to the town of Marlborough for educational purposes was that of Captain Ephraim Brigham, of £111, in 1771. The interest of this fund was used to establish the Brigham School. The fund was finally merged in the general school fund. In 1826 an academy was established and the following year a building was erected for its accommodation, through an individual enterprise. In 1827 Silas Gates and his son Abraham gave $2,000 towards its maintenance and the name was changed to the Gates Academy. In 1833 this school had nearly expired, when Mr. O. W. Albee took charge and through his proficiency brought the academy up to a high standard that was almost phenomenal. He remained in charge of the academy until it was finally merged into the High School in 1849. St. Ann's Academy for Girls, a boarding school, instituted under Roman Catholic order was established in 1887, one of the prominent boarding schools for girls in New England.

"The Home School" of Natick was an institution of more than ordinary importance, designed to fit young ladies for Wellesley College. Special courses of study were provided, and music, art, and elocution were taught by teachers from Boston. Established in 1891, the Walnut Hill School, a college preparatory school, of non-sectarian principles, is rated among the outstanding private schools of Middlesex County.

St. Patrick's School in Watertown, is a Catholic preparatory co-ed school, one of the most popular preparatory schools in New England. In Waltham is located the Waltham School for Girls, a non-sectarian institution.

In 1792 several gentlemen met together and "agreed to form themselves into a society by the name and institution of the Westford Academy." Articles of agreement and subscription were then drawn up and signed by fifty-four persons; and at the head of the list stand the names of Zaccheus Wright, John Abbot, and Abel Boynton, each of whom subscribed £30. The town also contributed to the original funds and became entitled to its benefits. August 3, 1792, the proprietors adopted several rules and by-laws for the governing of the school; and among other things it was provided, "that the English, Greek and Latin languages, together with writing, arithmetic and the art of speaking, should be taught, and if desired, practical geometry, logic, geography, and music; that the school should be free to any nation, age or sex, provided that no one should be admitted a member of the school unless able to read the Bible readily without spelling." The school has had many professors who have gained great renown in later years in various fields. Many of the graduates also have gained distinction in a variety of fields.

Warren Academy, in Woburn, is a free industrial school, co-ed, nonsectarian, and the pupils are here fitted for the higher preparatory schools.

The Broomfield-Pearson School of Somerville was founded in 1882, where special courses are given, fitting the pupils for entrance to any of the colleges.

The Cambridge-Haskell School for Girls, founded in 1886, has a very high standard, both in finishing and preparatory work.

**Libraries** have always, in Massachusetts, been considered an adjunct of education and culture, and it is not strange that the State has more libraries in proportion to the number of its civil divisions in America. There is said to be only one town not possessing a library, and its name shall be unsung. The third greatest library in the United States is that of Harvard at Cambridge, the first being the Library of Congress at Washington, which because of our copyright laws is in a unique position to accumulate books. The Harvard Library is housed in the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial building, and contained in 1925, 2,416,000 books and pamphlets. The other schools of higher education have their special libraries, notes of which have been made, and there are a number in the county in connection with various institutions.

Of the public free libraries, Middlesex and the State are justly proud. It is claimed that the first *free* public library was founded within its borders.

Most of the libraries in the county are the gifts of private citizens, only eight of the towns not having such institutions. A list of the Free Public Libraries in the county, their donors, the number of volumes they contain and the home use made of them, as based on figures of 1918, follows:

| Cities and Towns. | Donor. | Bound Volumes | Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acton | William A. Wilde, of Malden | 13,411 | 8,438 |
| West Acton | Phineas Wetherbee | 1,700 | 1,200 |
| Arlington | Mrs. Maria C. Robbins, of Brooklyn, New York, in memory of her husband | 29,455 | 56,902 |
| Ashby | Edwin Chapman, of Boston | 5,100 | 3,471 |
| Ashland | Andrew Carnegie | 8,969 | 9,710 |
| Ayer | Frederick Ayer, of New York | 12,000 | — |
| Bedford | | 12,877 | 11,482 |
| Belmont | Henry O. Underwood | 18,003 | 42,032 |
| Billerica | Mrs. Joshua Bennett | 6,304 | — |
| Boxborough | | 3,473 | 2,409 |
| Burlington | | 3,400 | |
| Cambridge | Frederick H. Rindge, of Los Angeles, California | 117,074 | 345,394 |
| Carlisle | Mrs. Joanna Gleason, of Sudbury | 4,339 | 3,428 |

PUBLIC LIBRARY, MARLBOROUGH

MAIN STREET FROM FLORENCE STREET, LOOKING WEST, MARLBOROUGH

| Cities and Towns. | Donor. | Bound Volumes | Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chelmsford | Amos F. Adams, of Boston | 11,500 | 17,036 |
| North Chelmsford | | 7,621 | 16,290 |
| Concord | William Monroe | 46,410 | 51,763 |
| Dracut | Moses Parker. Site by Mrs. L. H. Morrison | 6,000 | 16,401 |
| Dunstable | Mrs. Sarah Roby | 3,796 | 2,400 |
| Everett | Albert M. Parlin, as a memorial to his son | 31,160 | 87,584 |
| North Everett | William Shute | 11,812 | 55,193 |
| Framingham | | 38,000 | 51,895 |
| Groton | Mrs. Charlotte A. L. Sibley | 14,246 | 14,569 |
| Holliston | Andrew Carnegie | 7,600 | 20,031 |
| Hopkinton | John Quincy Adams, of Wheaton, Illinois, and others | 7,383 | 10,289 |
| Hudson | Andrew Carnegie | 12,248 | 40,991 |
| Lexington | Alice B. Cary | 30,064 | 46,251 |
| Lincoln | George G. Tarbell | 10,684 | 7,477 |
| Littleton | Children of William Stevens Houghton | 14,088 | 11,134 |
| Lowell | | 100,807 | 162,813 |
| Malden | Elisha S. Converse and wife in memory of their son, F. E. Converse | 71,879 | 252,390 |
| Marlborough | Andrew Carnegie, J. A. Frye, S. H. Howe, and others | 33,224 | 41,320 |
| Maynard | | 6,102 | 30,509 |
| Medford | Thatcher Magoun | 53,908 | 106,328 |
| Children's Library | Mrs. Samuel C. Lawrence, in memory of her husband. | | |
| Melrose | Andrew Carnegie | 21,073 | 86,480 |
| Natick | Mary Ann Morse | 29,000 | 44,672 |
| South Natick | Oliver Bacon | 4,999 | 6,384 |
| Newton | J. Wiley Edmunds and others | 100,182 | 373,794 |
| North Reading | Mrs. Charles F. Flint | 6,254 | 8,831 |
| Pepperell | Charles F. Lawrence, of New York | 18,253 | 11,964 |
| Reading | Andrew Carnegie | 9,434 | 27,275 |
| Sherborn | W. B. H. Dowse, in memory of his parents | 8,000 | — |
| Shirley | Mrs. Betsy D. Hazen | 6,600 | 7,890 |
| Somerville | Andrew Carnegie | 113,909 | 418,340 |
| East Somerville | Andrew Carnegie. | | |
| West Somerville | Andrew Carnegie. | | |
| Stoneham | Andrew Carnegie | 12,236 | 28,495 |
| Stow | Belinda Lull Randall, for the estate of John Witt Randall | 6,000 | — |
| Sudbury | John Goodnow, of Boston | 11,050 | 9,686 |
| Tyngsborough | Mrs. Lucy Littlefield, in memory of her daughter | 8,069 | 6,505 |
| Wakefield | Junius Beebe | 19,093 | 74,028 |
| Waltham | | | |

| Cities and Towns. | Donor. | Bound Volumes | Circulation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Watertown | Francis Buttrick | 47,640 | 132,649 |
| | Hollis H. Hunnewell, and others | 48,271 | 88,470 |
| Wayland | Warren Gould Roby | 15,295 | 19,072 |
| Westford | John Varnum Fletcher | 16,488 | 13,113 |
| Weston | | 23,520 | 20,067 |
| Wilmington | | 5,570 | 8,443 |
| Winchester | | 22,973 | 57,914 |
| Woburn | Charles Bower Winn, in memory of his father | 50,116 | 79,709 |
| North Woburn | | 2,082 | 5,119 |

# CHAPTER XIV

## IN LITERATURE.

**The First Printing Press**—The literary history of Middlesex County is extraordinary in its breadth, variety, influence and length of years with the fullness thereof. Middlesex might be said to have had its foundations laid in literature, since freedom of speech, as well as of religion, was the underlying motive that led to its settlement. The ministry of the Massachusetts Colony was not only voluble in the pulpit, but voluminous in its writings. While the output was mainly religious, it included plenty of philosophy and poesy, educational books, but no fiction, since this was held in horror. Not only did these early fathers write, they published. The first printing press in America was set up in Cambridge, and for thirty years all the printing done in this country was done in that little college town. At first anything published had to be printed in England, but it was only a few years after the settlement of Eastern Massachusetts that efforts were made to import a press. To Reverend Joseph Glover did the Colony owe its first opportunity to break into home-made print. In 1638, Glover set out for this side of the water with a press and type. He died on the way over and his material was eventually set up in the home of the President of the College, Dunster. Stephen Daye was the first printer, having come on the same ship with Glover, and the first work set up and issued was "The Freeman's Oath" in 1639. Almost a hundred books were printed at this plant before 1700, including Eliot's Indian Bible, and "The Book of the General Lawes & Libertyes of the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts." Perhaps the "New England Psalm Book" compiled by President Dunster, might also be included as literature, but of this there seems to have been some doubt. Really, all the President had to do with the publication was to hand it to the printer after Richard Mather of Dorchester, and Eliot and Weld of Roxbury had gathered the material, but to the President's credit or discredit must the book of unhappy verse be laid. He was also the first of an almost unbroken line of presidents of Harvard who were authors and publishers, although, for the first century of the University, these leaders and the men associated with them had to give their attention more to teaching than to literature.

Cambridge, with its University, is naturally the literary capital of

the county. As a college town, it has attracted to it great minds, writers in all the varied fields of literature. "It is doubtful if any municipality in this country can equal Cambridge in the number and variety of its authors." Into this we will go more in detail later. Cambridge is not the only center of mind and pen in Middlesex, for there is at least one town whose prominence in the past has made of it a literary shrine that vies with its historic interest to the visitor, Concord.

**Literary Concord**—There are few small places in New England so well known to the world-at-large as the lovely village of Concord. The traveler goes on his pilgrimage to this spot, sacred as the birthplace of liberty, and revels in its many marked places reminiscent of a certain April 19, 1775. But the visitor is also apt to revel even more in the places reminiscent of Emerson, Hawthorne, Channing, Thoreau, the Alcotts, George William Curtis, and other literary luminaries who made this town notable. It is about these shrines that the motor car of today is parked, rather than near some Revolutionary tablet, while its occupant prowls around the not too well preserved homes of this remarkable group of writers.

There are a number of accounts written of pilgrimages to Literary Concord, and one by Samuel Adams Drake, made in 1870 when some of the authors concerned were still alive, paraphrased and condensed a bit, follows. Speaking of Concord he said: "Nature knew it in the commonplace pastoral sense. War left the print of her bloody hand there. Man's intellect has breathed upon it, and clothed it with such beauty that we seem to see gems in the drifts of gravel, nuggets among the river's sands, and feel an uncontrollable desire to view for ourselves all those objects by which our attention has been fixed while regarding the picture from a distance. And a closer acquaintance confirms our prepossession." One comes first to the brown house where Hawthorne lived after his return from his English consulate. This house now stands rather open to the gaze of the passer-by, but back of it is the heavy growth of evergreen trees, with the winding path through its shade over which both Hawthorne, Alcott and their friends used to stroll and chat. Toward the road the outlook was over a spreading meadow. The house is unusual only in having a square tower in which the author loved to weave his pen portraits, and tell his sombre stories. On entering the tower, one was struck with the inscriptions of two cupboards which stood on either side of the rear window. On one was: "All care abandon ye that enter here;" on the other: "There is no joy but calm." Over the window was the one word, "Olympus." Enclosing the stairs was a pine box with a movable shelf. This was Hawthorne's desk, on which he is said to have written his last work, "Septimus

Felton." Here, with his back to the landscape just outside the window, his face turned towards the bare wall, Hawthorne dreamed his dreams, and wrote the stories of the phantoms of his Puritan imagination. Possibly he loved his dream children too well, for he seems to have been a rather absent-minded, gloomy companion. Few visited him, but his friends were true blue. Drake's review of his work is worth the quoting, if only for the odd light it throws on the author's career. Drake says, in part:

> Some of Hawthorne's productions, when a lad of fourteen, and thought to be authentic, have lately come to light. It appears that his literary tastes were first stimulated by his uncle who resided at Raymond, Maine, whither Mrs. Hawthorne had removed after her husband's death, at Havana, of yellow fever. These early effusions do not exhibit any of the flashes of genius for which the man was famous. Hawthorne's intellect was too fine for the multitude. His plane did not conduct to the popular heart. His writings teem with sombre tints, and oftenest lead to tragic termination; but his fancies were always striking and his descriptions often marvelous. He seems to stand apart in an atmosphere of his own making, seldom, if ever, giving what was within. Burns was an exciseman, and Hawthorne a gauger. Both were given to convivial indulgence, but the Scotsman's mood was in general less gloomy than the American's.

Adjoining Hawthorne's are the house and grounds of A. Bronson Alcott. Here dwelt the philosopher! Here lived the "walking encyclopedia." He had kept school at Cheshire, Connecticut. The fame of his original plan of teaching came to the knowledge of Samuel J. May who invited Alcott to visit him. One of the results of this visit was the marriage of May's sister, Abigail, to Alcott in 1830. Alcott was a reformer, and thoroughly anti-slavery in sentiment. Says May: "He seemed to me like a born sage and saint. He was radical in all matters of reform; went to the root of all things, especially education, mental and moral culture. Communism was one of the favorite projects of the transcendentalists of that day. Brook Farm did not go far enough for the philosophers of the school of Emerson and Alcott. They permitted individualism to go to such an extreme that one could not only choose, but make his own form of government. Animal food was refused, products of slavery declined, no taxes were to be paid, and money was unnecessary, as a means of exchange. The experiment at Harvard resulted and in less than a year was abandoned." Alcott labored as well as thought; whether it was bees, trees, printing or talking, he was always interested and interesting, and always industrious.

Emerson's home was perhaps the center of transcendentalism, as the new thought of that day was called. It had been built by Charles Coolidge of Boston in 1828, and had come into possession of Emerson seven years later. It was just a plain square building and was badly injured by fire. But while Emerson was in Europe, the building was

restored mostly by the efforts of friends. At Emerson's suggestion Hawthorne, Alcott, Thoreau and Curtis met at his house for the mutual exchange of ideas. The idea was good but the results nil. For three Mondays they met, and the club came to an end.

Thoreau lived in a house built by himself in 1845 on the shore of Walden Pond. It is said he never went to church, never voted, never paid a tax to the State. The "hermit-naturalist" seems to have found all that he craved in Nature.

These are but the more prominent of the coterie that brought fame to Concord. It was a time of great awakening of thought, culture and literature in New England, and these men gave inspiration, and in a measure, direction to the new movement. It was a time when the earth had been sufficiently tamed to give means and leisure enough to cultivate the higher faculties. A paper was published, the "Dial," which was the organ of the philosophy that had its focal point in Concord, most of the published matter being produced here. Hawthorne wrote the "Mosses from an Old Manse" to which he had brought his bride; the same house in which Emerson had written his "Nature." Thoreau used mostly Concord scenes in his works. Here Channing "published his poems; Alcott his conversations, his daughter Louisa her stories of old-fashioned girls of sense and sensibility, Mrs. Austin her novels." Then there was George William Curtis, Lieutenant Derby, John Phoenix the humorist, Frederick Hudson, and others. In the Concord Library is a section given over to the works of Concord authors, or books on the town, and it fills an ever increasing space. So great was the literary activity at one period that when a distinguished state and national officer was asked, "What is the chief occupation of the villagers?" promptly replied, "Principally writing for the 'Atlantic Monthly'."

Rufus Rockwell Wilson, writing of his rambles through New England, says in his closing paragraphs concerning Concord:

> William Ellery Channing, a poet who commands an audience select and few, settled in Concord with his bride, a sister of Margaret Fuller, the year before the Hawthornes came to live in the Old Manse. The Channings dwelt first in a cottage on Lexington road, and finally in a house on the main street opposite the last residence of Thoreau. Mrs. Channing... died in middle life; and her husband passed the last of his more than eighty years under the roof of another Concord poet, Frank B. Sanborn. The residence of George William Curtis was a passing incident of his early manhood, when with a brother, Burrill, he lived for a time on the farm of Edmund Hosmer, the sturdy long-headed yeoman celebrated by Emerson in the apologue of his "Saadi" and by Thoreau in "Walden." David Atwood Wasson likewise resided in Concord only for a brief period, but he continued in friendly communication with the members of its literary circle, often visited them, and now takes his rest among them.

Wasson's grave is in the village cemetery quaintly named Sleepy Hollow, one of the most lovely and picturesque of burial garths, its vales and slopes half hidden by trees whose shade and murmur give the illusion of primeval solitude. Around him sleep the Emersons, the Hawthornes, the Thoreaus, the Alcotts and the Channings. The grave of Hawthorne, bearing witness by its unusual length to the lofty stature of its occupant, is in a narrow lot, and the white stones at its head are graven only with the name of the well beloved romancer. Close at hand is the burial plot of the Thoreaus. An ornate and highly polished granite slab, on which are recorded the names of the different members of the family, stands in the center, but the grave of the Thoreau whom the world remembers is marked only by a low headstone inscribed "Henry." Further up the hill and deeper in the shadows is the grave of Emerson, overgrown with myrtle, by its length helping one to call up the vision of the tall poet and philosopher who sleeps beneath. He who recoiled from all pomp and show in life has his wishes respected in death. There is at the head of the long, grassy grave only a huge unhewn boulder, to tell the wayfarer that here Ralph Waldo Emerson takes his rest. Those who hold in reverence the noble yet austerely simple genius which made the living man one of the mighty forces of the intellectual world would not have it otherwise.

**Prominent Literary People**—David Atwood Wasson, although buried in Sleepy Hollow at Concord, was a native of Maine and spent most of his sad life in West Medford. Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus" came to his attention early in his career and so influenced him that he abandoned law for the ministry and for a time preached. Failing health gave him little time or strength for writing, but the few essays that remain to us cover "the widest possible range, and give proof on every page of prodigious knowledge and the workings of a masterly brain." He excelled at a talker; Frank P. Stearns writing of him says, "He must have been the finest talker of his time. Carlyle could match him perhaps in quite a different manner; but I have never heard of any others.... He was in fact an American Dr. Johnson; and it is only a pity that he had not some Boswell of a friend who could have recorded his wise sayings and valuable criticism of men and things." Wasson's last home was at the corner of Prescott and Allston streets in West Medford.

Medford was the birthplace of Lydia Maria Child, who wrote among many other things, the famous "Appeal for that Class of Americans called Africans," the most "able argument in favor of the emancipation of the slave ever put forth in book form in America." Mrs. Child lived for the most part in Watertown and Wayland where she died in 1880, and lies buried in the village cemetery. She wrote her first book when only nineteen, "Hobomok," an Indian tale, and no matter how much interested she became in reformations, she was always the writer, and her home on the Sudbury River on the outskirts of Wayland was the center of culture in the community. Wayland, by the way, received its name because of the fact that President Francis Wayland, of Brown University, started the first library in the place.

Not far beyond Wayland is the Wayside Inn immortalized by Longfellow in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," no one knows how old, nearly two hundred and fifty years it would seem. Fortunately for posterity Henry Ford has seen fit to restore it, and bring back to its rooms reminders of the old days when it was the hostelry on the stage route on the main road from Boston to New York City. Since 1860, it had been a farm-house, and Longfellow's description of it was not inappropriate:

> "A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,
> Now somewhat fallen to decay,
> With weather stains upon the wall,
> And stairways worn and crazy doors,
> And creaking and uneven floors."

A notable group of men have gathered in the gambrel-roofed Inn, President Adams, John Hancock, Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Lafayette, Washington, but hardly so interesting as the imaginary group brought around the great hearth by Longfellow in his "Tales." All of the story tellers in the poem were real persons, however. The poet was Thomas William Parsons, the translator of Dante; the "young Sicilian was Parsons' brother-in-law, Luigi Monti, long United States Consul at Palermo; Ole Bull was the musician; the familiar friend, Professor Daniel Treadwell, an eminent physicist; the student, Henry Ware Wales; and the Spanish Jew was Israel Edrehi, the theologian.

The Newtons have always had their quota of literary lights. The seat of a great theological seminary, the home of many of wealth and leisure, culture and atmosphere has encouraged literature. As at Cambridge, many of the professors in the Seminary were authors of works not confined by any means to their own particular teaching subject. Among these were Francis Mason, Elias Magoon, Nathan Brown, John L. Lincoln, Alvah Hovey, George Dana Boardman, Chapin Carpenter, Joseph Gilmore, Theron Ware, Henry S. Burrage, George Hoar, D. W. Faunce, W. S. McKenzie, E. Benjamin Andrews and many others.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps lived for a number of years in Newton Highlands. Hawthorne passed the winter of 1852 in what is now known as the Horace Mann house in West Newton, and there completed "The Blithedale Romance." Newton Centre was for half a century the home of Samuel Francis Smith, the author of "America." He was a graduate of Harvard in the same class with Oliver Wendell Holmes. In Newton, Lowell Mason, the composer, came to him asking that he translate some foreign hymns, or "if you can, write some original hymns to fit the tunes." Happening on a German tune that pleased his ear he set about composing patriotic words to fit the music. In a half hour the words of "America" had been written. They pleased Mason, and on July 4, 1832, they were sung for the first time at a children's celebration in

Boston. Not until later did he know that the tune was the British "God Save the King." Mr. Smith lived to be eighty-seven, and was the author of more than two hundred hymns and poems.

Arlington's most famous author was John Townsend Trowbridge, writer of boys' stories, editor and poet. His tales were probably the best ever written by an American for boys, and the forty-five or more written contains not one too many. The Trowbridge home, in which he lived for many years, was just across the valley from Belmont where William Dean Howells dwelt for a time.

The so-called "Golden Age" of New England literature, that middle nineteenth century period when so many of our American "classics" were produced, had certain centers or sources of supply such as Concord, and Cambridge in our county, and Boston and Springfield in our State. There were few places in the Commonwealth comparable to these. But the literary fervor of the time was not by any means confined to any few centers, or to any particular class, for there were outbursts, sporadic, short lived in many of the regions surrounding the capitals of thought and writing. The Boston center soon included its next door neighbor Cambridge (or was it the other way 'round?); Concord, but a few miles farther away set up its own presses and had its very noted coterie of authors. What is more natural than that Lowell should also at this time have its "literary center"?

The "Spindle City" has always been so closely associated with mechanical industries that its literary side has been overlooked, or, perhaps, never considered as having one. It was, especially in 1840-50 a factory town, the mill hand making up the greater part of the population. Printing was a commercial proposition, and print shops other than newspaper almost lacking; neither were there associations nor clubs, which fostered literary interest, although Lowell had its quota of Literary Societies, as did every village and city of that period. One would think that there were neither authors, readers, nor means of issue; in fact, no encouragement for anything in literature. On the contrary there was a most numerous and avid reading public in the mill hand. One observer of that day, hiding his or her identity under the initials H. T., makes the following remark: "In our house there are eleven boarders, and in all thirteen members of the family.... They receive regularly fifteen newspapers and periodicals; these are: 'The Boston Daily Times,' the 'Herald of Freedom,' the 'Signs of the Times,' the 'Christian Herald,' two copies each; the 'Christian Register,' 'Vox Populi,' 'Literary Souvenir,' 'Boston Pilot,' 'Young Catholic's Friend,' 'Star of Bethlehem,' and the 'Lowell Offering,' three copies each. We also borrow regularly the 'Non-Resident,' the 'Liberator,' the 'Ladies Book,' the 'Ladies' Pearl,' and the 'Ladies' Com-

panion.' And this is but the newspaper and periodical reading of this group of factory operatives.

The "Lowell Offering" was the organ of a group of young Lowell women who all but founded a Lowell School of Literature between the years 1840 and 1845. The magazine which was gotten out found a broader reading public than that provided by the city or even the State. The heavy and dignified "Reviews" of both America and abroad deigned to notice this unique production of a group of factory girls. A bound copy of "The Offering" was shown by M. Thiers to the French Chamber of Commerce as an example of what the working women may do for themselves in a republic. If ever Lowell may be said to have been a literary center, it was when this magazine was being issued. Like nearly every other city in New England, Lowell has had the occasional writer who was born or lived there, the total of names for its century as a city, making a formidable list. Its distinctive literary feature, however, was the "Lowell Offering," the following account of which was written by Frederick W. Coburn in his "History of Lowell:"

"The mill girls of the newly-incorporated city, as Mrs. Robinson has recalled in her 'Loom and Spindle,' were omniverous readers. When they were not allowed to take books and magazines into the factory they brought newspaper clippings of poems and fine sentiments and would paste these on the window to be memorized during lulls in the work. At the boarding house they read the weekly newspapers and discussed the propriety of the Mexican War and of further extensions of slave territory. Many of them were interested in Fourier (1772-1837) and French communism; though the prevailing opinion was that his proposed 'phalansteries,' or communistic associations of 1,800 persons, would have in an intensified degree the defects of the existing factory system with which they were familiar. The progress and decline of the celebrated Brook Farm community, which ran for about six years beginning in 1843, was watched with much curiosity by Lowell operatives. Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, the New York dress reformer, found several converts among the wide-awake 'girls' of the Lowell mills. According to the Lowell 'Journal,' on July 4, 1850, local merriment was caused when a little group of bloomerites in costume joined the parade. A considerable following, also, was vouchsafed in Lowell for Professor Sylvester Graham, the first noted advocate in America of vegetarianism. In this era, too, 'Prof. Fowler,' the phrenoloigst, examined the crania of many young men and young women and told them unhesitatingly what career they were adapted for. Mesmerism, that manifestation of the eternal gullible, had its many devotees in the corporation boarding houses."

In this time of lively fads and "isms," some fifty young women employed in the factories proved that they could write well enough to draw surprised commendation from the solemn "North American Review."

The publication of the celebrated magazine at Lowell was preceded by the formation of several groups of young persons for purposes of literary study. In 1839 Harriot F. Curtis conceived the idea of an "Improvement Circle," for development of literary talent. The proposed group was formed. The original list of officers is forgotten, though it is known that Emmeline Larcom was secretary and that her sister Lucy was of the original members. The meetings must have been enjoyable, for the idea was copied, and by 1843 there were at least five "Improvement Circles" in various parts of the city. Two of these circles had been organized as promising aids to church work by the Rev. Abel C. Thomas and Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, pastors respectively of the First and Second Universalist churches.

To Mr. Thomas belongs the credit of originating "The Lowell Offering." When the Improvement Circle was started at his church, he found that it was difficult to get the young people to speak on the topics assigned for literary study and he accordingly introduced a plan of having them bring to the meeting written essays that were read aloud by their authors. Some of these papers seemed to him to be so remarkable that he arranged for publication of a selection in series of four pamphlets entitled "The Lowell Offering, a Repository of Original Articles by Females employed in the Mills," and issued between October, 1840, and March, 1841. Such a demand for copies of these pamphlets arose that the circle at the Universalist church undertook the preparation of copy for a new review of thirty-two pages. This was published monthly until October, 1842, under Mr. Thomas's supervision. It was then taken over by Harriot Curtis and Harriet Farley, who engaged William Schouler to publish it for them. The arrangement lasted a year and then the young ladies became editors, publishers and proprietors. Assuming this responsibility they issued the magazine until December, 1845, when, upon the completion of the fifth volume, Miss Curtis retired and the magazine was temporarily suspended. In September, 1847, it was reissued by Miss Farley under the style of "The New England Offering." Only one number was then produced. In April, 1848, Miss Farley got a fresh start and continued publishing her magazine until March, 1850, when the publication was given up for ever.

Within these ten years of more or less intermittent publication, the productions of about fifty mill girl writers gained a celebrity that was well deserved, even though it was not based entirely upon literary merit. The contributors, so far as known, were as follows: Sarah S.

Bagley, Josephine L. Barker, Lucy Ann Baker, Caroline Bean, Adeline Bradley, Fidelia O. Brown, M. Bryant, Alice Ann Carter, Joanna Carroll, Eliza J. Cate, Betsey Chamberlain, L. A. Choate, Kate Clapp, Louisa Currier, Maria Currier, Lura Currier, Harriot F. Curtis, Catherine Dodge, M. A. Dodge, Harriet Farley, Margaret F. Foley, A. M. Fosdick, Abby A. Goddard, M. R. Green, Lydia S. Hall, Jane B. Hamilton, Harriet Jane Hanson, Eliza Rice Holbrook, Eliza W. Jennings, Hannah Johnson, E. Kidder, Miss Lane, Emmeline Larcom, Lucy Larcom, L. E. Leavitt, Harriet Lees, Mary A. Leonard, Sarah E. Martin, Mary J. McAfee, E. D. Perver, E. S. Pope, Mary R. Rainey, Sarah Shedd, Ellen L. Smith, Laura Spaulding, Emmeline Sprague, S. W. Stewart, Laura Tay, Rebecca C. Thompson, Abby D. Turner, H. Whitney, A. E. Wilson, Jane S. Welch, Adeline H. Winship, Sabra Wright. Most of these young women, of course, were afterwards married and lost to fame, so far as literary achievements were concerned. A few of them, however, appear with published books to their credit in the list of publications by Lowell authors.

So unusual a proceeding as the publication of a magazine by women may have caused more or less adverse criticism in conservative homes of the city. When Miss Curtis and Miss Farley undertook the editorship they found it wise to secure a formal statement of approval of their enterprise from several of the leading men of the community. Those who signed this statement were Samuel Lawrence, Benjamin F. French, J. W. Warren, William Butterfield, John Avery, Alexander Wright, John Wright, John Clarke, Homer Bartlett, William Schouler, Jacob Robbins, George Motley, William Spencer. At this time, so far as known, only three other women in the United States were doing editorial work. They were Cornelia Walter, of the Boston "Transcript;" Mrs. Green, who edited the Fall River "Wampanoag," and Lydia Maria Child, of the "Anti-Slavery Standard."

If the plan of issuing such a mill girls' magazine was highly original, the same adjective could hardly be applied to the contents of the periodical. As might be expected from young women who were as a rule more interested in the books they had read than in the life that was lived around and about them, the literature which they produced was mainly derivative and imitative. The poetry savored of Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Landon, Mrs. Barbauld, Pope, Cowper and Hannah More. The prose was modeled after Addison, Goldsmith and Lydia Child. In technical quality, nevertheless, "The Offering" averages up to the standard of the religious and literary journals of the period. Several of the contributors used the experience they gained from their own magazine to break into others and while still writing for "The Offer-

ing" were seeing their poems and stories printed in "Zion's Herald," "The Christian Register," the "Saturday Evening Gazette," and other publications.

It is not to be supposed that the literary lights of Lowell came only from the factories, for there are dozens of names that might be mentioned of those who shed at least a ray in the literary world. Robert Boodey Caverly, "the poet laureate of Lowell," although a busy lawyer found time for literary work both along historical lines and versifying.

Eleanor Hallowell Abbott, well remembered for her "Sick-a-bed Lady," "Molly Makebelieve," the "White Linen Nurse," "The Indiscreet Letter" and others, was in private life Mrs. Fordyce Coburn, the granddaughter of Jacob Abbott, author of the famous "Rollo" books, and the daughter of Rev. Edward Abbott, clergyman and author.

Thomas F. Harrington, M. D., one of the foremost medical men of Massachusetts, the originator of the "Health Day Plan," was also an author, whose history of the Harvard Medical School has been so highly commended.

Lucy Larcom was probably the most famous of the group of writers contributing to the "Lowell Offering." Poetry was her forte. Harriot F. Curtis, associated with Harriet Farley as editor and publisher of the "Lowell Offering," is best known for her "Jessie's Flirtations" (1846) and "Kate in Search of a Husband." Harriet Farley wrote "Fancy's Frolics" (1880), "Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius" and "Operatives Reply to Hon. Jere Clemens" (1856).

James Abbott McNeil Whistler, born at Lowell, July 10, 1834, is probably the most famous personage that came out of Lowell. When but a baby, his father went to Russia to build a connecting railroad between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Here he spent his boyhood in Russia, returning to enter West Point, from which he was *not* graduated "because silicon was not a gas." Whistler never returned to Lowell, and in later life claimed Russia as his birthplace. He is included among the authors of the county because of his one booklet, "The Gentle Art of Making Enemies."

Charles Henry Stowell, M. D., one of the most celebrated of Lowell's scientific men, received his medical degree from the University of Michigan in 1873, and served his *alma mater* in various professional positions from 1877 to 1889. He was a voluminous writer, and at one time the editor of five monthly magazines. Philip Sanford Marden, long President of the Lowell "Courier-Citizen," has written several travel books. Henry Adolphus Miles, the noted Unitarian minister, contributed a number of religious works in the period from 1845 to 1870. Maria Hildreth Parker wrote both fiction and poetry. William Adams Richardson was the author of a number of works of legal and banking in-

terests. The brothers Thorndyke, Edward Lee and Ashley, were well-known writers; the former on psychology, the latter on Shakespearean subjects in which he was one of the world-known authorities.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, Cambridge is after all said to be the literary capital of Middlesex County. There is no better summary of the place that Cambridge has taken in literature than that given by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1890, of which the following is practically a quotation. President Dunster was an eminent Oriental scholar, and superintended—a doubtful kindness—the preparation of the "New England Psalm Book," so much criticized by Cotton Mather and others. His successor published only a few sermons, and President Uriah Oakes but few more. President Increase Mather, 1701, was a voluminous writer, and from his day there have been few of the presidents of Harvard College who were not also authors. And this is also true of the leaders in the various schools which make up the University. Samuel Sewall, grandnephew of the celebrated judge of the same name, in 1762 became the College librarian and instructor in Hebrew. He published a Hebrew Grammar, works in Latin, Greek, left a manuscript in Chaldee, and another, an English Dictionary. Until the eighteenth century ushered in the change, Harvard was practically a school in theology and philology, and the literature issued by its men was along these lines. But the physical sciences began to be taught, and teachers brought in to teach them. The first Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy was appointed in 1727,—Isaac Greenwood, who was followed in 1738 by John Winthrop, both of whom wrote voluminously. In 1783, the Medical School was founded.

If the eighteenth century brought science to Cambridge, the opening of the nineteenth brought literature in the person of John Quincy Adams who was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in 1806. It is often forgotten in recalling the fame of Adams as a public character, that he was also a force in any other line. At Harvard he not only taught good taste in writing, but published many personal examples of it. Levi Hedge was appointed Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in 1810, and "aided the thought of the University while Adams gave it expression." A few years later there came to the University a group of men at that time unequalled in cultivation and literary spirit—Andrews Norton, 1811; Edward Everett, 1812; Joseph Green Cogswell, 1814; Jacob Bigelow and George Ticknor, 1816; Jared Sparks, 1817; Edward T. Channing, 1819; Charles Folsom, 1821; George Bancroft, 1821. "No American professor ever exercised so prolonged and unquestionably a literary influence as Professor E. T. Channing; no one trained so many authors ultimately distinguished in American Literature." (Higginson).

One of the effects of Harvard on Cambridge was the creation of what

has been called "literary families" in which the authors appear in groups. Reverend Abiel Holmes, D. D., came to Cambridge in 1792 as the pastor of the First Parish Church. Both he and his eldest son Oliver Wendell Holmes were authors, and the younger son John might well be included. The Ware family came in 1805 and were a race of authors; the two Henrys, Doctor John, William, John F., and George, all wrote. Reverend Charles Lowell made his home in Cambridge about 1819. He and his children, Robert T., and James Russell Lowell and Mrs. S. R. Putnam were all authors. Richard Dana, born 1699, head of the Boston bar in his day, was a native of Cambridge as was Richard Dana his grandson who was the poet of the family. And Richard Dana the third of the name was born in Cambridge, whose first book "Two Years Before the Mast" has been read by the boys of several generations. The Channing family was represented by Professor E. T. Channing, the brilliant William Henry Channing, and Professor Edward Channing, the writer of history. A kinsman by marriage, Washington Allston, has a name for both prose and verse, equal to that for painting. William H. Storey lived in Cambridge when a boy, being the son of Judge Storey eminent in law and legal writings; his son-in-law, George Ticknor Curtis, also resided here at one time. The President Quincy family was strongly literary for several generations. The children of Dr. Palfrey were all authors like himself, both sons contributing to military history, and the eldest daughter, Miss Sarah, writing under the name of E. Foxton. The father of Thomas W. Higginson was a writer, his mother wrote several children's books, his elder brother published a work on American Slavery, his wife published several books, while Mr. Higginson was the author of many works.

The quarter century from 1825 saw the coming to Cambridge of a group of men prominent in literature. Among these were: Dr. Palfrey, Professors Bowen and Lovering, the two Wymans, Reverend Doctor Walker and Reverend Convers Francis, and Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Another interesting group, composed of foreigners, was that made up of Professors Charles Follen, Charles Beck, Francis Scales and Pietro Bachi, all authors or editors, to which should be added the name of a later comer, Agassiz. There were many scientists, who like Agassiz, gave a literary touch to their scientific subjects, such as Thomas Nuttall in botany and ornithology; Wilson Flagg in the same subjects; Professors John Frisbie and John Farrar. Many important magazines have had for their editors Cambridge men. William Lloyd Garrison lived here while editing the "Liberator;" Reverend Thomas Whittemore while conducting the "Trumpet;" and Reverend Edward Abbott, the founder and editor of the "Literary World." Cambridge women have not been in the background in the literary achievements

of the city. Names of the past which should be recalled are those of: Mrs. John Farrar, Miss Caroline F. Orne, Miss Sarah S. Jacobs, Mrs. Elizabeth Agassiz, Mrs. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Miss Mary A. Denison and Miss Charlotte F. Bates. Mrs. James Russell Lowell wrote verse, but the most noted of the early groups was the ill-fated but brilliant Margaret Fuller Ossoli, a native of Cambridge. A number of men who became noted later lived for a time in Cambridge, as for example, Emerson, who at one time was a teacher in the town. Some resided here without being connected with the University, or in some cases only for a short period with the town. Among these should be named, Joseph E. Worcester, W. J. Rolfe, W. D. Howell, T. B. Aldrich, H. E. Scudder, John Bartlett, Francis Wharton, Melville Bigelow, Rev. A. V. S. Allen, Rev. G. Z. Gray, Arthur Gilman, William Winter, George P. Lathrop, Oscar Fay Adams and W. M. Griswold. At the time when the above was compiled, prior to 1890, there was being made in the Public Library, a collection of the works of the native and resident authors of Cambridge, not including those who were merely students at the University. Mr. Higginson suggests that "should this plan be carried out in its fullness, it is doubtful whether Boston or New York can show a similar collection of greater variety or of more intrinsic value."

**Cambridge Authors**—One may give long lists of names, or catalogue the immense number of volumes written by Cambridge writers, but after all the great name for the world-at-large is that of Longfellow, and the literary visitor must worship at the shrine of Craigie House before all else. What Emerson was for Concord, Longfellow has been for Cambridge, "the port to which all craft put in that sailed over the seas of literature." His name is identified with the place, and the pages of the diary which he kept are thick with the names of those who lifted his knocker. "Now that he is gone, pilgrims continue their visit to his shrine."

Craigie House had many literary occupants, particularly after speculation had forced the widow of the formerly wealthy Craigie, to take in "roomers." Edward Everett came there with his bride, and so did Jared Sparks. When Longfellow took up his professional duties in Harvard, only a decade short of a full century ago, he became one of the roomers, while a fellow-lodger was Joseph E. Worcester of dictionary fame. Longfellow, at the time, had recently lost his wife, but some years later he married the Mary Ashburton of her husband's "Hyperion,"—Frances Appleton, taking her to Craigie House. The residence was purchased by the bride's father and given to the happy pair. And here it was that the poet lived, and entertained hospitably the thousands who came to pay

him homage. And here it is that Miss Alice Longfellow, who has lovingly kept the mansion within and without substantially as it was in her father's time, hospitably receives the visitor who comes to view the reminders of the loved poet.

One regrets that the changing to fit city conditions have robbed Cambridge of so many places and things one wishes he might see. The Washington Elm, under which Washington reviewed his first troops, was unfortunate in having grown where a street was needed, so that now the curious must take his life in his hands and pause in the center of a busy crossing, to gaze upon a concrete disc which marks the spot where once was the historic elm. The "spreading chestnut tree" has long since been made away with and the automobile scurries over the place where it stood; the home of the blacksmith is a Tea House.

The "gambrel-roofed house" of which the "Poet at the Breakfast-table" tells so delightfully, has only a stone marker to tell where once it sheltered a long line of notables. With a history running back to colonial times, it became the home of Eliphalet Pearson in 1792, Professor of Hebrew, and in 1807 of Abiel Holmes. The latter married the daughter of Oliver Wendell, and to them was born in 1809 a son who was given the family names, Oliver and Wendell. Parson Holmes dwelt in the gambrel-roofed house until his death in 1837, when it became the home of his son. When Oliver was but twenty, the sight of the "Constitution" lying in the Charlestown Navy Yard ready to be broken up, led him to that burst of verse "Old Ironsides" that laid the foundation for his fame as a poet:

> There was an hour when patriots dared profane
> The mast that Britain strove in vain;
> And one who listened to the tale of shame,
> Whose heart still answered to the sacred name,
> Whose eyes still followed o'er his country's tides
> The glorious flag, our Old Ironsides!
> From yon lone attic, on a summer's morn,
> Thus mocked the spoilers with his school-boy scorn.

His lyric, published in 1830, stirred the attention of the nation and brought from Washington an order saving the old ship. The incident has a double interest as this is written, late in 1926, for the "Constitution" is again about to be destroyed, and efforts are being made to raise by popular subscription, the $500,000 needed to "recondition the battle-scarred veteran," which, by the way, back in 1797, only cost $299,266 to build.

About 1840 Oliver Wendell Holmes moved to Boston, and began the practice of medicine and literature. It is sometimes forgotten that his elder brother, John, was also a man of rare literary ability, although

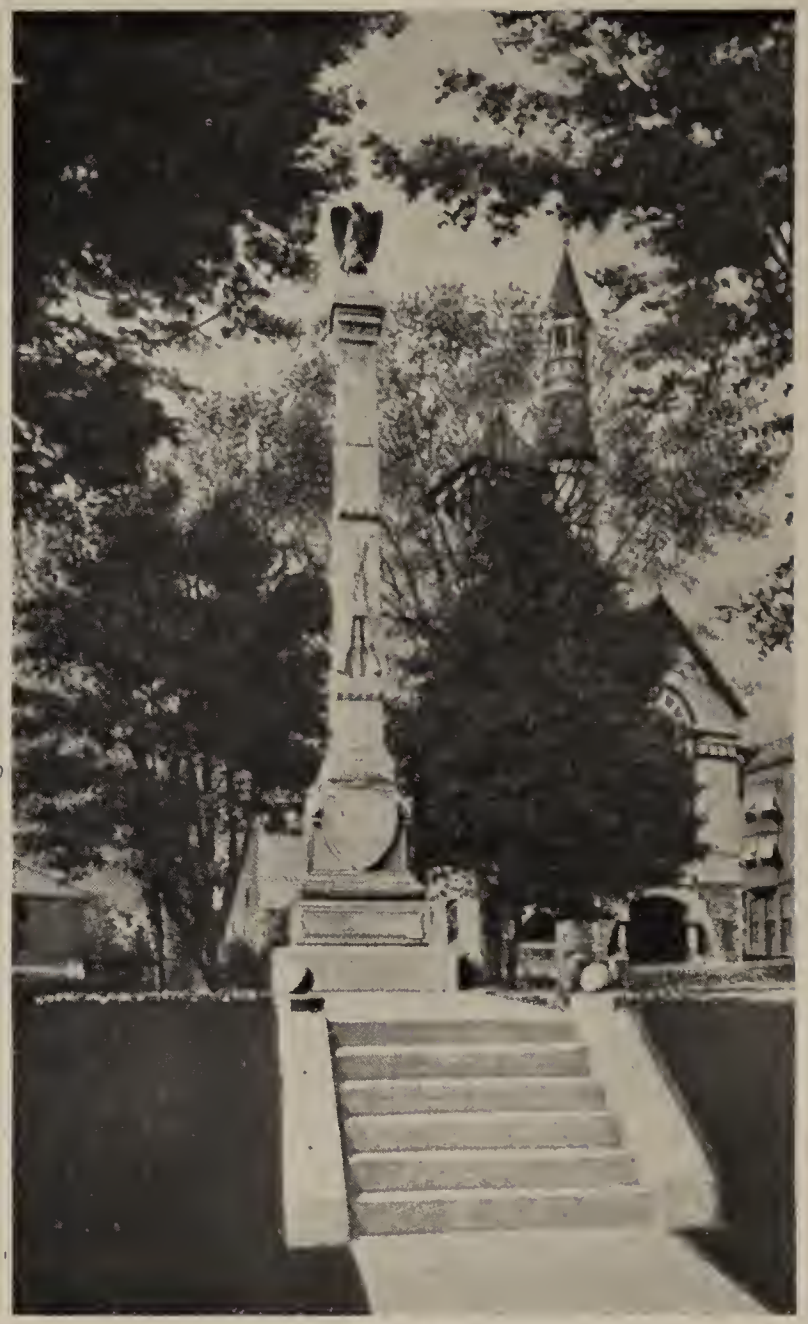
less given to printing what he wrote. Emerson once said of John Holmes that he "represents humor while his brother represented wit." John lived in the old homestead until it became the property of Harvard College in 1872, after which it was the homes of William Everett and James B. Thayer until it was torn down in 1885.

There is another "gambrel-roofed house" still standing, the Wadsworth House of Harvard, which for one hundred and twenty years housed the successive presidents of that institution, nearly every one of whom left some memorial of himself on the printed page. Felton was the first to occupy the new president's house on Quincy Street, now the home, as it has been for a half century of the recent president, Charles William Eliot. One might make a most interesting literary pilgrimage to Cambridge, and gain for himself the thanks of many by searching out the former homes of the great among the authors of the city, and tell of their past occupants. And to this might be added the names and homes of those who are now making their way in print, of which there are many. These are constantly changing, for not only do the old places make way for new, but the older writers move to some new place. As the witty Francis Wharton, explaining that the litterateurs of Cambridge were mostly folk drawn by the University and kindred spirits, said, "We are potted plants in Cambridge." Many do not stand the transplanting long, but the place from which they were removed may have a lasting interest to the curious.

Possibly Brattle Street might do for the beginning of the pilgrimage, for it would seem that few of its older houses have not sheltered some budding author. And near its end, one would come to a half hidden mansion that vies with the home of Longfellow in its interest, Elmwood, the former residence of James Russell Lowell. Brattle Street is one of the most beautiful and wonderful streets in New England; one cannot refrain from admiring its attractions. Its hold upon the heart and affection of the lover of books is due, however, to the fact that on it are the homes of these two great ones. Surely with such a nucleus, the street must be one of the most famed in literature.

In one of his later books, William Dean Howells, himself then a resident of Cambridge where he wrote several of his earlier books, refers to James Russell Lowell as "the most devoted Cantabridgian of them all." Lowell after leaving college became a member of the Suffolk bar, thus proving true to the traditions of his family which for several generations had been connected with the law. It was in the square three-storied building on Brattle Street that Lowell was born, and it was there that he found literature had attractions for him far above law. His first volume of poems was published in 1841, and his first book of prose in 1845. This was the period in which was given to the world the "Vision

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MEMORIAL, WAKEFIELD



SOLDIERS MONUMENT AND FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, MARLBORO

of Sir Launfal" and other well-known poems, and toward the tail end of the period that broad keen Yankee satire the "Biglow Papers" was started. Their appearance at the time of the Mexican War not only were pat, but introduced the country to the racy Yankee dialect, wit, and common-sense.

The death of Lowell's wife, the first great sorrow in his life, ended this period of his life. In 1855 he succeeded Longfellow in the Harvard Professorship which he retained for two decades. During this period he was the first editor of the "Atlantic Monthly" and published the bulk of his works. In 1877, he was appointed minister to Spain and in England, where he served eight years as a diplomat, returning at the end to Cambridge where he remained to the close of his days.

Writing of himself and his home in 1848, he says:

> Here I am in my attic. I slept here when I was a curly headed boy, and used to see visions between me and the ceiling, and dreamed the so-often recurring dream of having the earth put into my hand like an orange. In it I used to be shut up without a lamp—my mother saying that none of her children should be afraid of the dark—to hide my head under the pillows and then not be able to shut out the shapeless monsters that thronged about me, minted in my brain. It is a pleasant room... Towards the close of the winter I become wearied of closed windows and fires. I feel dammed up, and yet there is not flow enough in me to gather any head of water. When I can sit by my open windows and my friendly leaves hold out their hands before my eyes to prevent their wandering to the landscape, I can sit down and write.

An English visitor and friend has sketched Lowell among his books in this fashion:

> All around us were the crowded bookshelves whose appearance showed them to be the companions of the true literary workman, their ragged bindings, the thumbed pages scored with frequent pencil marks, implying that they were a student's tools, not mere ornamental playthings. He would sit among his books, pipe in mouth, a book in hand, hour after hour. Or he would look out of his study windows and dwell lovingly on the beauties of the American elm or the gambols of a grey squirrel on his lawn. To see Lowell in his home, and the home of his father, was to realize distinctly what is plain enough in all his books, how deeply he had struck his roots in his native earth. Cosmopolitan as he was in his knowledge, with the literature not only of England but of France and England at his fingers ends, the genuine Yankee, the Hosea Biglow, was never far below the surface. No stay at home Englishman of an older generation, buried on some country corner, in an ancestral mansion, and steeped to the lips in old world creeds, could have been more racy of the soil.

Lowell spent part of the closing days away from his ancestral castle but toward the end he came back to Elmwood, which in his absence had been the home of another poet, Thomas Bailey Aldrich. In August, 1891, he died as he wished, in the home where he had been born and had spent the happiest years of his long literary life. Just beyond his

lands was the gate to Mount Auburn Cemetery, the "Westminster Abbey of America." Here he came to his last rest, just at the foot of the ridge upon which Longfellow was buried. "Close at hand Willis and Holmes take their rest, the latter in the same grave with his wife, and about and beyond are the graves of Charles Sumner and Rufus Choate, of William Ellery Channing and Phillips Brooks, of Edward Everett and Joseph Story, of Charlotte Cushman and Edwin Booth, and of Louis Agassiz, whose resting place is fittingly marked by a group of pine trees from his native Switzerland, and by a boulder from the glacier of Aar, with unchiseled surface now overgrown with the lichens he loved."

# CHAPTER XV

## CHARLESTOWN AND HER NAVY YARD.

**Settlement of Charlestown**—Charlestown was a part of Middlesex County until 1873 when it was annexed to Boston. It was the first settled place in what is now the county; was the nucleus of Middlesex; early the gate-way to the region, and it is to be regretted that it was ever thought wise for it to become a part of Boston. Its settlement must be ascribed to the three Sprague boys, Ralph, Richard and William, who came to Salem with Endicott in 1628. Not content to locate quietly and safely in Salem, they asked and received permission to do a bit of exploring. On foot they penetrated the forest until they came to the junction of two rivers where they found an Indian village called Mishawum. With the consent of the savages they built a hut, and returned to Salem with such a good report of the place they had found, that nearly a hundred were induced to follow them to locate at this Mishawum. This was in 1628-9, and may be said to mark the settlement of Middlesex County. Of the privations these settlers had to endure, of the loss of half their number before the winter was over, of the timely arrival of Governor John Winthrop in 1630 which probably saved the settlement from being wiped out, only this brief mention shall be made here. Winthrop and his vessels were only the van of a fleet of seventeen ships, bringing 1,500 people, many of which stayed at Mishawum, or to call it by its better known name, Charlestown, for a time. But, for the most part, some stayed because of lack of lands, some because the water did not suit, the most of the early comers moved on to Watertown, Cambridge (Newtowne) and other places, the dispersion being the means of settling quite a range of the county region in the next few years.

Perhaps it is only fair to state, that while credit must be given to the Spragues for the founding of Charlestown, there was another who had preceded him in the section. Sprague recounts that when he arrived at Mishawum, he found an "English house, thatched and palisaded" where lived an English smith by the name of Thomas Walford, and his wife Jane, who "received them coldly." Just how Walford happened to be there has never been satisfactorily explained. Some said he made articles for the Indians that they were not supposed to have; some accused him of having "relations with the Devil," and his wife later was

accused of being a witch. He very evidently was at odds with the Puritan fathers, but perhaps his only crime was in being faithful to the Established Church of England, which was an offense not to be forgiven in New England. His subsequent history shows him as a very good sort of a fellow, living at Portsmouth, prominent in public affairs and successful in business, for he left quite an estate and a good name upon his death in 1660. Walford, anyway, was the first (known) English settler of Middlesex County. He may have located there under the Robert Gorges Grant, or as some historians suggest he may have come to Weymouth with the Wessagussett Colony of 1623, coming to Charlestown in 1626 after the former colony was abandoned.

The Spragues were prominent in the affairs of the Winthrop settlements. Ralph was Constable of Charlestown in 1630; a member of the first board of selectmen in 1634; and a representative to the General Court from 1635 and on. He founded a family that played an important part in the development of the county. With his brother Richard, he owned quite a tract of land in what is now Melrose, which was held by his descendants through a number of generations. Richard Sprague surpassed his brother in prominence in the new colony, but had no family. On his death at Charlestown in 1668, he left a large estate; one of the peculiar bequests in his will was that of "thirty-one sheep and thirty lambs" to Harvard College, perhaps as one has suggested, "to crop the college green." William, the youngest of the Sprague boys, barely twenty when they explored the unknown wilderness around Mishawum, died in 1675. Little is known about him, although "he founded a large and highly respected family."

**The "Gateway to Old Middlesex"**—Despite the fact that Charlestown had the lead in the matter of settlement it could not retain its place at the head of the line. Possibly because it was a small peninsula, and didn't appeal to the land hungry Puritans, to whom wide acres were next to Godliness as a source of happiness. Perhaps it was because the urban Puritans couldn't realize that open streams could give wholesome drinking water, even more wholesome than the wells of their native counties where the seepage of the occupied soil didn't improve the water they drew to the surface. At any rate, complaint was made of the water at Charlestown, and formed the excuse for some of its residents to move up to other sections. More probable is it, that the settlement simply exhausted itself in giving birth to other villages. It was the Mother of Boston, of Newtowne (Cambridge and Watertown), of Woburn, Malden and Medford, wholly or in part, all before the Revolution. And to cap the climax, the town was burned at the very first real battle of the Revolution, when the British tried to smoke out

the patriots holding Bunker Hill, or perhaps just to brow-beat the upstart New Englanders who dared to oppose Britain's soldiers. Charlestown had to be resettled, rebuilt, and rise like a phoenix from its ashes, before it could again take its place among the towns, now many, of Middlesex; the Middlesex shire created in 1643, the county that was then the most populous in Massachusetts, and the seat of most of the wealth and industries in New England.

The county has overlooked or forgotten the large part Charlestown had in the foundational development of this area. Since her backsliding in 1873 to join her lot with one of her daughters, Boston, the tendency has been to forget that she was ever a part of the Middlesex family. Charlestown, not only gave of herself to produce a shire, but even after being burned, almost wiped out, she came back to help in the later growth of the county. Charlestown was "The Gateway to Old Middlesex" in the years following the Revolution. There is a milestone now near Harvard Square, Cambridge, which says that it is eight miles to Boston. Now any Cantabridgian knows that the distance is not more than two to the heart of Boston, and if one isn't particular about getting to the down-town part of the Metropolis, he can in a few minutes' stroll over the Lars Anderson Bridge reach that city. It is the bridge that has made the difference between the eight-mile jaunt of our forefathers, and the brief stroll of today. And it was the bridge which was built from Charlestown to Boston in 1786 that did so much to open up the back and near regions to Middlesex County and give it accessibility to the Boston and marine markets.

A ferry had been the original mode of transit from 1635, the income from which had been granted to Harvard College in 1640. The question of replacing the unsatisfactory ferry with a bridge had been agitated as early as 1712. But, when the desirability of such an affair was recognized, it was considered impossible of accomplishment. The channel of the river was too deep; a bridge would obstruct navigation; and anyway, the ice would carry away any structure erected. Lemuel Cox of Medford, an ingenious shipwright, insisted on the feasibility of the scheme and planned and worked until a charter was secured. Captain John Stone of Concord was the architect of the bridge which Cox built, as he did later bridges at Malden (1787); the Essex Bridge at Salem, (1788); and at Londonderry, Ireland (1790). Cox was given by Massachusetts a thousand acres in Maine, 1796, because he was the "inventor of a machine to cut card-wire, the first projector of a powder mill in the State, and the first to suggest the using of prisoners on Castle Island to make nails." The Charlestown bridge was opened to traffic eleven years after the Battle of Bunker Hill and on the same date, under the

eyes of twenty thousand people who had gathered to celebrate the event. It was the longest bridge in the world, until surpassed by the West Boston Bridge built in 1793. It was the custom of that day to celebrate almost any event in verse; three from the forty stanzas of one of the songs are as follows:

2. "I sing the day in which the BRIDGE
Is finished and done,
Boston and Charlestown lads rejoice,
And fire your cannon guns."
23. "Now Boston, Charlestown nobly join
And roast a fatted OX
On noted Bunker Hill combine
To toast our patriot COX."
38. "May North and South and Charlestown all
Agree with one consent,
To love each one like Indian's rum,
On publick good be sent."

To Charlestown does the county owe somewhat of the famous Middlesex Canal which was to be the industrial life saver of Eastern Massachusetts. It was one of the earliest undertakings of its kind, and planned to connect the Upper Merrimac with tide water. A charter was secured, 1793, and if one is to be historically truthful, Charlestown had little to do with the canal beyond hatching the idea, and having it start here. Many of the corporators lived in the town, and the canal meant much to Charlestown. The history of the canal is told in another chapter (XVII). It was not complete until 1803, and never was a dividend payer. Too many mistakes were made in the planning and construction, and one of the principally hoped for sources of income, the transportation of lumber, was diverted elsewhere. The canal served the county better than its income would indicate, and had a great deal to do with the introduction of a better mode of transportation, in the securing of which Charlestown again had a hand, the railroad. The Lowell Railroad, opened for traffic in 1835, stopped just short of Charlestown, and in the next year the Charlestown Branch Railroad was incorporated to build the mile or so of railroad needed to give the Lowell line deep sea outlet. The Charlestown Wharf Company incorporated this same year to build docks. In 1842, the Fitchburg Railroad was born and acquired the Branch Line and most of the Wharf company's holdings, laying thus the foundations for the deep sea trade of the county. Curiously, ice was one of the principal products over the road from Fresh Pond, and on to foreign ports. The Lowell Railroad Company, and another known as the Eastern Railroad Company, in 1870 and 1873, respectively, extended their tracks and holdings in Charlestown, making a still larger terminus of the town for Middlesex County. Even the "horse" railroads

of 1854 and beyond branched out into the outside regions, to the benefit of both.

**The Navy Yard**—Charlestown is best known to the country at large for an institution of National importance, the Navy Yard. Quite appropriately a new government established, close to the first great battle-ground, a station to aid in the defense of that government. Noddle's Island, now East Boston, was in 1799 considered as a site for a naval depot. A government naval architect, Joshua Humphries, looked the place over, and also at the request of Charlestown, which had, in a measure recovered from its burning twenty-five years previously, considered it for the purpose. He reported in favor of the latter town. Differences over the price of the land desired, led to the putting of the matter before the Legislature. This body authorized the National Government to purchase the land in Charlestown, between 40 and fifty acres, "valued by a jury at $32,280, which was about half the price asked."

The area secured was very well suited for the needs of the Navy, being on deep water in one of the most secure parts of the harbor. Later purchases brought up the amount of land owned by the United States to 87½ acres; recovered land brings the acreage up to nearly 100 acres. The first land bought was originally called Morton's Point, and was the place where Howe landed the main body of his troops before the Battle of Bunker Hill. The Point had been fortified by the patriots, a small battery of guns having been set up there. They had been removed before the battle and used later in the war. Washington fortified this same point after the evacuation of Boston.

The part of the town in the neighborhood of the Yard was long ago called Wapping, a circumstance which it had been thought proper to distinguish by a street of the same name. In the days of the Great Rebellion this unsavory locality could not have been much inferior to its prototype by the Thames, and poor Jack, in making his exit from the Yard after a long cruise, had to run the gauntlet of all the land sharks that infested the place. At one time, however, the neighborhood was of quite a different cast, and some of the artisans of the Yard found a convenient residence here; among others, Josiah Barker, for thirty years the distinguished naval constructor, lived in Wapping Street.

While a story of the Navy Yard covering the last half century would be out of place here, since the city was pleased even longer ago to desert Middlesex County, its history prior to that time is properly a part of Middlesex. The first records of the station begin in 1815, when there were located here forty-four men. This number was gradually increased as the Yard and its equipment grew until the sudden need of the Civil War brought about just as abrupt an increase, and at one time more than six thousand men were employed. At the time of the annexation of Charlestown, the area of the Yard had been materially

increased, and as a whole the property was the second best owned by the Naval authorities of this country. The chief structure was the famous dry dock of hewn granite, three hundred and forty-one feet long, eighty feet wide, and thirty feet deep, ample room for all the ships this country would ever produce. At least so it was thought and such was the idea in building it so large; there was little realization of the use to be made of steel in the building of vessels, or that small coasting boats would be constructed whose size would preclude their entrance into this "mammouth" affair.

For its day, 1827-34, it was a most remarkable bit of engineering. Loammi Baldwin was the designer of this and the dry dock at Norfolk, both of which, in their class, are unsurpassed even today. The foundation of the structure was a mass of piling over which a great oak floor was built, and upon this were laid the heavy granite blocks, each hand-hewn to shape. It was not only a great but unique bit of construction, one whose success was greatly doubted by many of the experts of the day. Even Baldwin hesitated before beginning, and asked Southard, then Secretary of the Navy, "What if I should fail?" To which came the laconic reply, "Then we will hang you!" At one time the dock seemed doomed to failure, for through some fault in the construction, a section of the wall cracked and in rushed the water and filled the basin. It was pumped out, however, the break repaired, and except for a later minor catastrophe, was a perfect piece of work. The height of the walls was determined by an examination of tide records covering a period of sixty years, the capping being placed several inches above the highest tide previously known. In 1851, the tide, with a gale behind it, rose to unprecedented heights, and a miniature Niagara was formed by the waters of the Bay as they surged over the top of the dry dock.

Loammi Baldwin, Jr., deserves more than passing mention. He was the fourth in descent from Henry Baldwin, who lived in Woburn in 1640. Loammi Baldwin, the third in order, was as distinguished an engineer as his son, for he was one of the promoters and principal constructors of the Middlesex Canal begun in 1794 and completed nine years later. He was a friend of Count Rumford of Woburn, held several offices in the Province and Commonwealth, and was a Colonel in the Revolution. Not to be forgotten by pomologists and the lovers of good apples, is the fact that he discovered a chance seedling apple, which he propagated, scattered throughout Middlesex County and laid the foundation of the apple industry of the country and the Eastern United States. This apple which bears his name added millions to the farmer's pocket and still, after more than a century, has few equals as a winter fruit.

Loammi, Jr., seems to have inherited the mechanical genius of his father. It is told of the son, that while in Harvard, he whittled with his pocket-knife a most marvelous wooden clock, which, with some attention, would actually keep time. Graduated from Harvard in the class of 1800, he essayed the study of law in Groton, but a happenstance at the latter mentioned place changed his course in life. A fire broke out, which suitable fire-fighting apparatus might have quickly quenched. The young student promptly forgot law and built a fire engine, 1802, which we are assured was in good working order eighty-seven years later, being able to throw a stream over any building in town. More than a century later it was still in use. The more noted engineering works of Baldwin, besides the dry docks at Charlestown and Norfolk are Western Avenue in Boston, and the shaft erected on Bunker Hill. He died at Charlestown, June 30, 1838, at the age of fifty-eight. Competent authorities have proclaimed him, "The Father of Civil Engineering in America."

**Dry Dock Completed**—The dry dock at Charlestown was completed in 1833, the formal opening of the dock taking place on June 24 of that year. Many distinguished guests were present, and the honor of being the first ship to enter the structure was the Constitution, "Old Ironsides," under the guidance of her famous Commodore and commander, Hull. This was the first vessel to be rebuilt here, and the work was directed by Josiah Barker, who had been a ship-builder on the site of the Navy Yard as early as 1795. An odd incident occurred in connection with the repairs made. Commodore Elliot, Commandant of the Yard, thinking to do honor to President Jackson, had a figure-head of that official made and affixed to the bow of the Constitution. To say the least, Jackson was not popular in Massachusetts, and a great wave of indignation swept the State. So many threats were made, that when "Old Ironsides" was launched again, a guard was placed to prevent any mutilation of the wooden bust. One July night when a thunder storm was raging, a young Cape Cod seaman, named Dewey, crossed the Bay in his row-boat, climbed to the bow, and, while the guard held to their shelter from the rain, sawed off the Jackson head. Dewey sent the head on to Washington, intending to present it to the President but was prevented by the illness of the latter. The affair caused a great deal of laughter, and all but led to the arrest of the intrepid Dewey when he tried to present the head to the Secretary of the Navy, Mahlon Dickerson, with his compliments as the author of the assassination.

There were a number of noteworthy Commandants of the Navy Yard Station, from Samuel Nicholson the choleric, who was first. He was responsible for the architecture of the house that was the home of so

many of the commodores of the Yard. He it was who engaged in the unsettled dispute as to who was commander of the "Constitution" while she was being built, himself who was to command her when she had been launched and turned over to the Navy, or Colonel Claghorn, the final designer, exercising supervision of her construction. Nicholson died in 1811 and was buried under Christ Church in Boston.

Hull, who commanded the "Constitution" in the battle with the "Guerriere" as well as the "Ohio," which for a long time was the receiving ship at the station, was also commander of the Navy Yard. A short, bronzed, silent man, his life was one of adventure. Of the naval battles in which he had a part, and of which he was usually the leader, mention will be made later. One of the curiosities long kept about the Yard, was one of the "umbrellas" by which the shrewd Hull managed to escape Broke's superior squadron, in a time of light winds.

Josiah Barker, for thirty-four years the distinguished naval constructor of the Yard, had a hand in the building and repair of most of the famous war ships of the early day. He not only rebuilt the famous "Constitution," after her entry to the new dry dock, but constructed the "Independence," "Virginia" and "Vermont," "seventy-fours," and the sloops of war "Frolic," "Marion," "Cyane," and "Bainbridge."

The "Independence" was launched in 1814, being the first seventy-four in the American Navy, if the "America" of 1782, given to the French, be excepted. Commodore Bainbridge sailed her to the Mediterranean, giving the European countries their first chance to greet the American flag, as displayed from the mast of a really large war vessel. She was later changed to a double-banked 60-gun frigate, and as such was much admired abroad. The "Vermont" was built to fly the Stars and Stripes for Perry's expedition to Japan in 1853, but failed to be ready and remained on this side of the globe. The "Virginia," appearing, as one naval critic said, as though the bow were the stern, never was of much use to the navy. The "Cumberland" is remembered as one of the ships of war that was so quickly destroyed by the "Merrimac" in 1862 at Hampton Roads. The "Cyane" was broken up in Philadelphia in 1836. The "Frolic" was the only one of the list lost to a foreign foe, being captured in 1814 by the H. B. M. frigate "Orpheus" and an armed schooner after a chase of sixty miles.

There were built at the Yard before 1860, 21 ships and smaller vessels and an average of two a year for the twenty years following. Perhaps the most noted of the early period, was the "Merrimac," launched in 1855. So beautiful were her proportions that five other frigates like her were ordered. Lenthall, chief of the Bureau of Construction, furnished the design, and Delano, then Naval Constructor of the Yard, built her. Her size was remarkable, her armament from the foundry of Cyrus Alger in

Boston. A cruise to the Pacific preceding her arrival at Norfolk in 1860, the attempted destruction of her was made when Secession ruled Virginia; she soon was armored by the Southerners, becoming the most formidable naval foe of the North. On March 8, 1862, the "Merrimac," encased in iron, sailed into the American ships of war, and with her iron prow raised havoc in a manner and extent unparalleled in naval warfare. Fortunately for the Union Navy, the little "Monitor," "cheese box on a shingle" arrived, and the first noted battle was waged by two metal armored war vessels, the results of which are too well known to require mention.

**The "Constitution"**—It may seem out of place to select one of the thousands of vessels which have visited the Charlestown Navy Yard for special mention, but there is one neglected craft lying at the docks, about to be dismantled, which has been so closely connected with the life of our Nation as to deserve preservation, not only in the hearts of Americans but as a ship. As this is being written, an effort is being made to raise a half million dollars for the restoration of the ancient craft, although the vessel in question cost, when she was built in 1797, only $299,366 to launch and equip. This old battle-scarred veteran, the "Constitution," has been a storm center all through its career.

Between 1828 and 1830 she was condemned as unseaworthy, and recommended for sale or breaking up. Her proverbial good luck came to her rescue in the person of a young man not yet old enough to vote, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote the stanzas beginning, "Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!" Public sentiment was so aroused that the Navy Department revoked the order for the destruction, and on June 24, 1833, she was the first vessel to enter the newly completed Charlestown dry dock, and Captain Hull was again in his old place upon her deck. Rebuilt, another storm was aroused by an intended change in her figure-head by Captain Jesse D. Elliott, the commander of the Yard. The first figure-head had been a statue of Hercules which had been struck by a shot at Tripoli. It had been replaced by a figure of Neptune and then by a plain billet. Captain Elliott planned to replace the billet by a statue of Andrew Jackson, then President, and the work was given to a skilled carver, Mr. L. S. Beecher, to complete. But what a disturbance his idea created! The country rallied with greater unanimity for the destruction of the figure-head than they had for the saving of the ship on which it was to be placed. As a "broadside" of the day expressed it, "Will they see the figure of a landlubber on her bows? . . . For God's sake awake, and save the ship from this foul disgrace." Really the arguments against the procedure were somewhat far-fetched, for the frigate "John Adams" carried the statue of Mr. Adams while he was

chief magistrate; the figure-head on the "Potomac" was an effigy of John Smith; and that of Sir Walter Raleigh was on the bow of the "North Carolina." The public clamor did not prevent the Jackson figure-head from being attached to the "Constitution," and of its decapitation we have already been told. But the insistent Elliott had a new head carved, and for forty years it graced, or otherwise, the bow of the "Constitution." The original head is said to be in the collection of a collector of figure-heads, although Jarvis claimed in 1835 that the head had been chopped into forty-four pieces, one for each of the participants in the outrage.

Today (1926), in a very quiet way there is a battle of dollars between the people of this country and the Naval authorities to decide whether the no longer useful "Constitution" shall be destroyed. The efficient Navy has no place for the unseaworthy frigate, but the sentiment of the many is that she has a historic value worthy of preservation. If for the inspiration of the American youth we so carefully save our historic buildings and battlefields, why not try to keep afloat this fore-runner of our Navy, the ship that stands as no other for the "freedom of the seas"? She came to the rescue of this land of ours when there was the greatest need of a strong arm to protect the independence that had been so recently won. "Her victories," says Professor Hollis, "did much to teach a few scattering colonies, or states, respect for themselves and faith in their own united strength." And again, "Her history is almost a history of the Navy during its most critical time, and she has survived to us the heirloom of a glorious past which cannot be forgotten as long as her wooden walls stand firm. As a type in marine warfare her class was the flower of the sailing period; and although sails were soon to be superseded, there was still time for her victories to work great changes in European navies."

There is not space, nor is this the place, to give a lengthy description of the "Constitution," of her battles, or history. She was a frigate, equivalent to a cruiser in our present Navy, and proved to be a better ship of her class that the navies of the world possessed. England, in particular, with a hundred frigates at that time, remained inferior in this respect until the lines and armament of the "Constitution" had been studied and imitated. Within two years after the United States of America had been organized, the fall of 1785, there was not one armed vessel in the possession of the untried colonies. And this was at a time when we were having trouble with the North African pirates and paying tribute to them. There were prospects of difficulties with certain European countries, and only a decade later we were engaged in a duel with the greatest naval country on the globe. On March 27, 1794, Congress provided for the building of six ships, four to be forty-four gun frigates. Boston was chosen for the building place of the "Constitu-

tion." It is a strange fact that the participants in the three most momentous naval engagements of America, the "Constitution," "Hartford" and "Merrimac," were constructed in Boston. The "Constitution" was built at "Hartt's Naval Yard" near what is now Constitution wharf; Edmund Thayer built her gun-carriages at South End; and her sails were made in the old Granary building at the corner of Park and Tremont streets. Also Paul Revere furnished the copper used in her hull, the spikes and bolts being forged by a process known only to him. In 1797, after many delays, the "Constitution" was launched, flying a flag of fifteen stripes, one for each State. The next year saw her ready for sea, the fourth of the naval ships to be ready, but soon the first in importance of service. She sailed against the French, whose privateers were raving our shipping, but met none of them. In 1799, she showed her sailing ability by beating an English vessel whose commander had questioned her powers in this line, thereby winning a cask of wine that had been bet on the result of the race. In 1800, she captured, indirectly, a Spanish ship, thereby getting the Nation into diplomatic difficulties because we were not at war with that country. In 1803, the gallant but untried ship made a quick trip to Gibraltar, and under Preble began the blockading of the South Mediterranean ports as a reprisal against the privateering of the countries located there. Except for the bombardment of the shore batteries, the "Constitution" had to stand by and see smaller vessels finish the war with Tripoli, leading to the treaty with the Barbary States. So far, just odd forgotten incidents have been mentioned concerning the "Constitution," the more memorable ones being known to almost every reader interested in the naval history of the United States. Two things had been accomplished by the quiet first years of service; men had been prepared by experience for the testing that was to come a few years later, and the wood of which the "Constitution" had been built had become so cured and hardened as to later win for her the name "Old Ironsides."

Then came the War of 1812, and it was in this that the "Constitution" had a more eventful career and reaped most of her laurels. This was a second war of independence, independence on the high seas. In the beginning this country had only eighteen serviceable ships in the navy; England had between six and seven hundred armed vessels. It was quantity *versus* quality, and the "Constitution" was one of the few American ships belonging in the latter class. Three times the "Constitution" set out from Boston, thrice to win notable victories. It was one of the most fortunate occurrences in our history, that victory perched upon the banners of an unprepared nation. Of the clever escape of Hull and the "Constitution" from a superior force along the Jersey coast; of the destruction of the "Guerriere" and of the "Java," accounts

are given elsewhere. In 1815, in east African waters, she captured the frigate "Cyane," and the ship sloop "Levant" by a display of most marvelous seamanship as well as gun fire. Later that same seamanship was tested in escaping from three larger English vessels just before the close of the war.

Says Professor Hollis: "The success of the War of 1812 cannot be credited to one frigate, yet the 'Constitution' absorbed the greatest amount of attention, as she did by far the greater damage to British armed ships upon the sea. The guns captured by her amounted to more than half the number taken by all British ocean cruisers. In her subsequent cruising, she became an object of interest to the English people, as she had already acquired the respect of the British officers."

The rest of the story of the "Constitution" is one containing little action, a tale of repairs and station duty. In 1830 she became unseaworthy and doomed. How she was saved has already been told, together with the figure-head episode. One of her last cruises was to the China seas and South America. On October 5, 1848, she was out of commission at the Charlestown Navy Yard after having sailed during that cruise, 52,279 miles in 495 days at sea. In 1860 "Old Ironsides" was transferred to the Naval Academy at Annapolis for use by the midshipmen. With the Civil War came the moving of both the Academy and the "Constitution." On August, 1865, she sailed to Newport as chipper and as fast as in her best days; but this was her last cruise. An effort was made just a century ago to fit her up for exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial, but the work was done too late. A few more years as a training ship, and on the hundredth anniversary of her launching she was towed to the Charlestown Navy Yard, now Boston, where she now lies. By an act of Congress, February 14, 1900, the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to restore "Old Ironsides" to her original condition, "if the means is provided by private subscription."

# CHAPTER XVI

## CANALS AND RAILWAYS.

Few things more truly reflect the stage of development in a region than its transportation facilities. When communities become joined by lines of traffic, products are interchanged as well as ideas, and each does that which it can do best. When the arteries of communication extend into the far outside regions, there is still further enlargement and improvement of life and industry. Then usually comes a speeding up of the means of transportation, and with the additional speed comes the greater perfection of work and life. Few realize the hardships endured by the early settlers of our county, when they had but the crudest means of moving about, or had no way of getting to more than a few neighbors without the long and dangerous journey through almost trackless woods. Each group had to grow and make what it needed; the pioneer was "butcher, baker and candlestick-maker," as well as a few dozen other things. It is not surprising that the first century of the history of Middlesex is principally a story of dispersions of adventurous souls, and an immediate endeavor to make ways of keeping in touch with each other.

**Means of Transportation**—The first roads were the rivers and streams, and the boat, or canoe, the first carrier of freight. The streams were not located where the pioneer wished to locate, for the land was often too low and ill drained along the streams for agriculture. The mill was, of course, by the water, the farm farther back; therefore little ways had to be cut through the forest from farm to mill. Often several would combine forces, and something approaching a graded road would result. As production became greater than local consumption a larger market was sought and such roads as the "Great Road," the "Boston Road" and others were projected and built. Where large bridges were required for the crossing of a stream, it was taken out of the hand of the local settlement and made a matter to be handled by the several towns along the route. The first provision made for the cheaper and greater handling of freight was the Middlesex canal, for that matter, the first in this country. This canal also provided a quick, safe and pleasant mode of traveling to the "metropolis," as Boston, even then, was considered.

No sooner was the advantage to be derived from roads realized than there arose a demand for *good* roads, roads beyond the means or

skill of the locality to make. Stock companies were formed to do what the town hadn't, and thoroughfares were constructed over long (and short) distances, on which the traveler paid toll according to the use he made of them. Because these olden roadways had swinging gates covered with pikes to stop the users of the road until they had paid their toll, these crude but relatively better roads were called "turnpikes." While the turnpike fever lasted, many and long highways were constructed, and the development of the county received a remarkable impetus.

**Demand for Better Transportation**—Middlesex County, in the early years of the Commonwealth. began to take on an industrial life that demanded speedier modes of transportation then the turnpike, and its slow horse-drawn vehicles, and mule-drawn "gondolas" or canal boats. Seldom is the demand for any essential to the progress of civilization not met. So it was when the time was ripe for the development of the natural resources, the increase of industrialism, that a more rapid means of transportation was provided. The steam railroad was invented and built. At first, as might be expected, there was little planning of this on any but a local scale. The evolution of the road from the farm to the mill to a system of highways covering a state, was repeated in the expansion of the railroad. A few miles were built here and a few there, merely to handle local needs. There seems to have been little thought of great connected systems. By 1840 there were only 526 miles of railroads in the whole of New England. Of this mileage, only the lines running from Boston to Lowell, to Worcester, through Middlesex, and the line to Providence, were more than a dozen miles long. Ten years later there were 3,000 miles of track in New England, and in another two decades the period of consolidation opened up with the gathering together of these many distinct little roads, and inter-state systems provided. With the growth of the railroad, came the growth of cities that previously were small isolated communities. Lowell is perhaps the best example in the county, for while it started where it did because of the wonderful water-power provided by the Merrimac, its expansion as the first of the great industrial cities in the United States did not come about until its isolation had been broken down by the railroad. The railroad practically supersedes all other forms of transportation. Trans-continental railroads were planned and built. For a time this larger system, by opening the markets of the West, materially increased the growth and prosperity of the county. At the present time, this larger scheme of transportation is not an unmixed blessing. Eastern Massachusetts is lacking in natural resources; is in fact rather far removed from the sources of materials except in Canada, from which it

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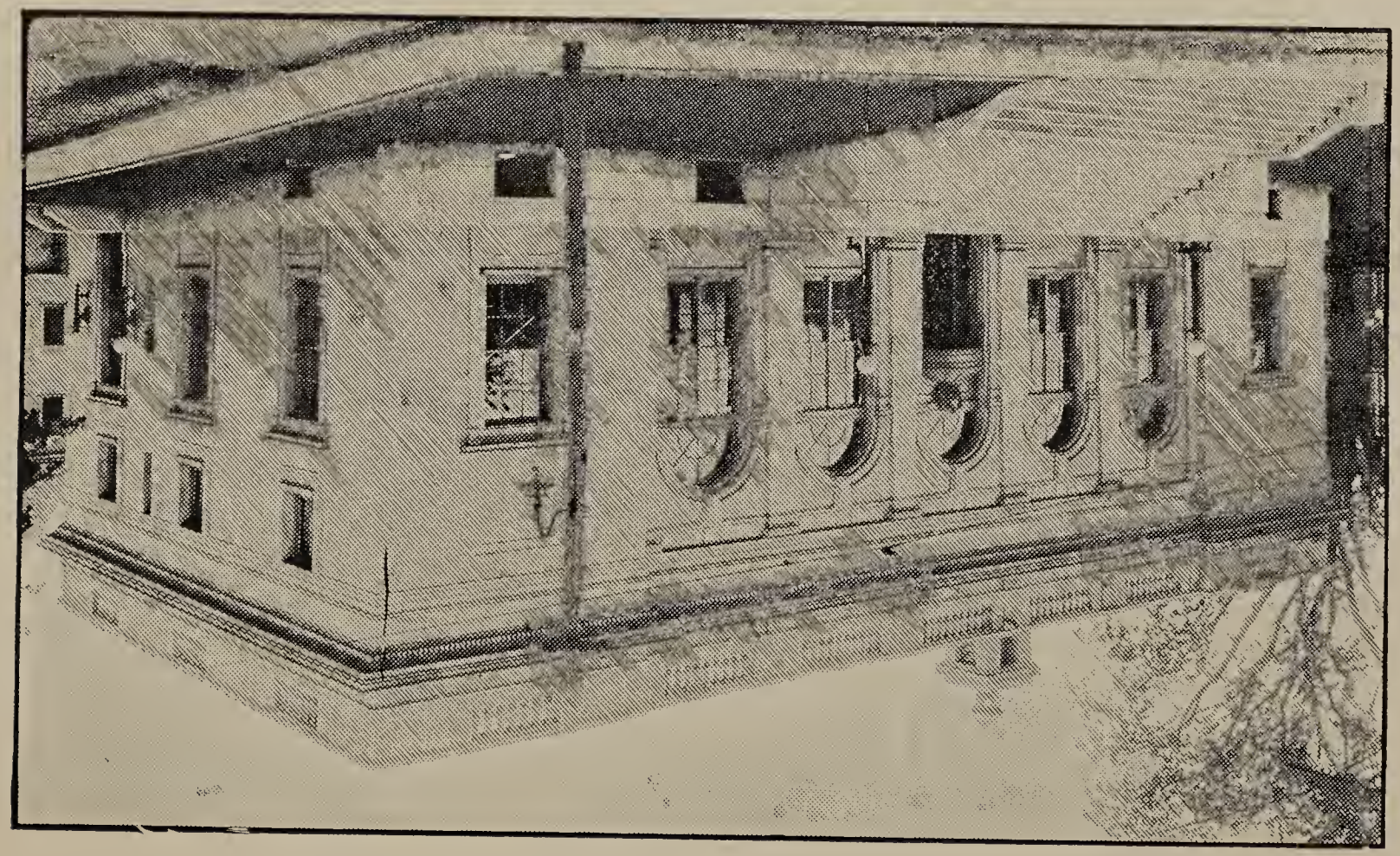

is unfortunately separated by national division. In the present stage of the evolution of industry, manufacture is located close to the source of its needs, and our great railroad lines carry the manufactured goods more cheaply than raw materials, thereby creating a competition that is hard to meet. The coarser cotton textiles are now made in the south, and the more inexpensive shoes in the west.

The present transportation problem in Middlesex County has to do with the transport of people rather than freight. The larger part of its population is included in the so-called Greater Boston area. Many live in Middlesex who go to business elsewhere, either to Boston or to different parts of the county. This condition began early, for in the days prior to the Revolution stage coaches were handling these business travelers, and visitors. This inter-urban traffic required something more flexible than the steam railway, hence the electric line or the "trolley-car." No mode of transportation ever developed so rapidly, or was more justly popular as the trolley. The city business man and worker could enjoy the advantages of a country home. Express service was added to the passenger; the steam railroads took over the electric lines and used them as feeders to their systems. Many isolated communities were brought into close relations to the rest of the county. The farmer and the product of his farms were particularly benefited.

The next step in the evolution of transportation in the county is of the last decade, the motor bus. Massachusetts is well to the fore in the matter of good roads, being one of the first of the States to treat the matter of road-building in a business-like manner. Instead of leaving the highway system at the mercy of unscientific local authorities, the Commonwealth has gone ahead on the theory that the State should build and maintain the main lines of travel. The result is the present splendid highway system that radiates in all directions from principal centers. Prompt advantage was taken of these improved roads, which are the equal of the roads in any country, by the gasoline truck and car. In many places the motor bus has displaced the trolley; in some sections the bus and truck are sharp competitors of the railroad. In some few instances, the railroads are owning or controlling the motor lines. Whatever the outcome, there is no question that the use of gasoline as the power in transportation is working out remarkable changes in the location of peoples, in the values of lands, and in the manner of living. Perhaps it is not possible yet to properly estimate the value of the service of the gasoline motor as used by the folk of today. The next step may be the airplane. As this is being written, July 29, 1926, the morning paper carried the headlines, "Visions planes as thick as autos. Edsel Ford tells President Coolidge that he may operate air transport

through New England with Boston as terminus." When asked when this would be he replied, "It is just around the corner."

**Middlesex Canal**—Going back to the early days of transportation, we find the Middlesex Canal to be the first used and most interesting of the schemes to improve on the ox-team as a means of getting products to market. This canal was completed in 1803, the work having started in 1794. Prior to this time Newburyport men had planned the canalization of the Merrimac, consideration being given to it as early as 1783. The most notable part of the plan completed was the canal at Pawtucket Falls, which consisted of four locks designed to carry boats and lumber around the Falls. At the opening of the canal on October 1, 1796, there were many notable visitors drawn here to examine the first work of its sort in the United States. The canal proved more capable of transporting material than it did of making money, being abandoned in 1822 to the greater service of creating water power, the "white coal" that made Lowell possible as the first strictly manufacturing town built in the New World.

The story of the Middlesex Canal deserves a far greater place in the memory of Middlesex than it ever has received. It not only marked the beginning of the solving of its transportation problems, but may in the near future be revived as a means of cheapening the present expensive means of getting materials and manufactures to and from the Boston seaport. The following is taken almost verbatim from the well expressed story of the Middlesex Canal, as told by Frederick Coburn in his "History of Lowell":

In the interest of a cheaper mode of transportation, canal building across country had a remarkable sway in the United States between the beginnings of industrialism and the advent of George Stephenson's "Iron horse," the Erie Canal betwen New York and The Great Lakes ranking as the greatest achievement of that day.

The opening of the Middlesex Canal, whose northern terminus was on the ancient John Sagamore reservation at Middlesex Village, occurred in the first years of the nineteenth century and was successfully operated until long after Lowell was incorporated as a city. Recollections of these days of primitive but picturesque traffic on the canal are invested in interesting and valuable papers by Judge Samuel P. Hadley, whose father was manager of the locks at Middlesex Village, and who as a young lad, was personally acquainted with the boats and boatmen. Abandonment of the canal was made only after it had become a losing financial proposition due to the competition of the railroad. The condition of its bed over most of the distance from Concord River down to Mystic Lake in Winchester is such as, frequently of late years, to

have prompted the suggestion that at no great expense the canal might be rebuilt to the not inconsiderable benefit of several manufacturing communities reached by it.

In 1792 the Massachusetts Legislature granted permission to General Henry Knox and others to construct a canal connecting the Connecticut River with Boston harbor. However, this project never materialized, probably because the project was too big for the promoters. The following year, the Great and General Court entertained a project from several prominent Bay State men to build a canal from the most southeasterly angle of the Merrimac to tide water in Charlestown. The original act incorporating the proprietors of the Middlesex Canal was signed by Governor John Hancock, June 22, 1793. The officials were: James Sullivan, Oliver Prescott, James Winthrop, Loammi Baldwin, Benjamin Hall, Jonathan Porter, Andrew Hall, Ebenezer Hall, Samuel Tufts, Jr., Aaron Brown, Willis Hall, Samuel Swan, Jr., and Ebenezer Hall, Jr. By their charter they were authorized to "cut" a canal from the Merrimac River to Medford (Mystic) River. From this charter grew the first American traction canal of a type that was already familiar in England and on the continent of Europe.

The moving spirit in this undertaking was Colonel Loammi Baldwin, fourth in descent from Henry Baldwin, one of the original settlers of Woburn, and son of James and Ruth (Richardson) Baldwin. He was born in Woburn, January 21, 1745, and died October 20, 1807. He received his education at Harvard College where he excelled in mathematics to such an extent that it was but natural he should choose engineering as a profession, and in after life lay claim to an honorable place in American annals. He took part in the Revolutionary War, entering service as a major, but due to ill health, in 1777, he was retired with the rank of colonel. He served Middlesex County as sheriff from 1780 to 1794, and sat in the Legislatures of 1778, 1780, and from 1800 through 1804. His experimenting with horticulture resulted in his creation of the apple which bears his name. To the imaginative capacity and enthusiasm of this distinguished man of Middlesex County was due in a large measure, the success of the plan for a Middlesex Canal.

Another chief figure in the organization of the canal was Governor James Sullivan, born in Berwick, Maine, in 1744, eminent statesman and jurist, who for six years was a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and then, from 1790 to 1807, was Attorney-General of the Commonwealth. In 1807 and 1808 he was Governor of the State. He foresaw the new Nation overspread with a network of canals. His son, John Langdon Sullivan, continued for many years as manager of the Middlesex Canal Corporation.

That water drawn from the Merrimac might be locked down by

successive steps to the Mystic appears to have been the original notion of the corporators of the Middlesex Canal. When, however, a celebrated English engineer named Weston undertook a survey of the proposed course he promptly noted that the source of water supply must be the Concord and not the Merrimac, for the reason that the level of the former stream at North Billerica is about twenty-five feet above that of the river at Middlesex Village at mean stages. The water consequently must flow downward in two directions from the peak at Billerica. This discovery accounts for a second act passed in February, 1795, which also contained a provision empowering the proprietors "to render the waters of Concord River boatable as far as Sudbury Causeway and as much farther as the same can be usefully improved for that end." Under authorization of these two acts the Middlesex Canal was built between September 10, 1794, when the first actual work was done, and June 22, 1803, when, with the Mystic River terminals finished the proprietors applied for permission "to complete the same to Charles River and to effectuate the means of communication between the said canal and the town of Boston across Charles River by boats."

The Middlesex Canal, thus projected and destined to be of great importance, was a wonderful construction for its time. It cost half a million dollars. The average width was thirty feet, the depth four feet. There were twenty locks, seven aqueducts, and the waterway was spanned by several bridges. The route was as follows: From Charlestown mill pond it passed through Medford, crossing Mystic Lake by means of an aqueduct (remains of which are still conspicuous), and Winter Pond by another aqueduct, to Horn Pond in Woburn. Thence through Woburn and Wilmington parallel to the present line of the Boston & Maine Railroad, Southern Division, it crossed the Shawsheen River by a massive aqueduct of one hundred and thirty-seven feet and reached the Concord at Billerica Mills. Entering this river by means of a stone guard lock it crossed with a floating towpath, and headed toward the Merrimac on the other side through another guard lock. From North Billerica it descended over a course of five and one-half miles through the eastern part of Chelmsford to Middlesex Village. It was fed exclusively from the Concord River. As Judge Hadley has said, "No drop of Merrimac River water ever entered the canal, for at the point where boats could pass out into the larger river, were three locks each about eighty feet long, provided with four sets of gates of the type called 'balance-lever' gates." The total length of the canal between Charlestown and Lowell was twenty-seven and one-half miles.

There does not seem to have been any trouble financing the canal. The stock was divided into eight hundred shares. It sold in 1794 at $25 a share; in 1803 had risen to $473 and in 1804 it touched $500. After

that year the prices receded, though it was still quoted in 1816 at around $30C. Benjamin Walker, who contributed a paper to the series published by the Old Residents' Historical Association in May, 1886, recalls the fact that the proprietors of the canal experienced hard times during and immediately after the War of 1812. For about six or seven years assessments instead of dividends were the rule. Then about 1819 began an era of marked prosperity which was not terminated until the railroad came in to offer a means of transportation that was not only quick but reliable throughout the year. Much of the freight and passenger traffic of the manufacturing community that was growing up at the falls of the Merrimac and at Concord was by way of the Middlesex Canal. The long flat-bottomed boats, horse drawn, were called "gondolas," and like all canal transportation, had a picturesqueness of their own. The horses used in the canal service were hard-worked animals in a day when there was no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Their greatest liability to suffering was from galling at the collar. The captains, it is recalled, were usually very considerate of their valued motive power.

Much business was done on the Middlesex Canal by chartered companies. After 1815, for example, a fleet of about twenty-five boats was operated by the Merrimac Boating Company, which had been organized in New Hampshire. Vast quantities of timber for boards, spars and masts came down the river to the head of the canal and thence, a "shot" at a time, were sent through the locks and on toward Charlestown, often towed by teams of stout oxen. Passengers were carried by a regular packet service which left Middlesex Village on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at eight o'clock in the morning, arriving at Boston about two in the afternoon. The fare for this journey, a very delightful one in pleasant weather, was seventy-five cents.

One closely identified for many years with the management of the Middlesex end of the canal was Samuel Page Hadley, born August 4, 1794, and died June 1, 1872, the father of Judge Samuel P. Hadley. The elder Hadley early in 1815 was employed in construction work on one of the dams by means of which Mr. Sullivan planned to make it possible for packet boats to run to Concord. On the completion of this work he went on board the boat that made the first trip from the New Hampshire capital to the Hub. Thereafter many years of his life were spent in the service of the canal proprietors.

Many documents concerning the operation of this property were kept by Mr. Sullivan in a scrapbook which is now in the special libraries department of the Boston Public Library. These admirably supplement the reminiscences of many of the older residents of Lowell. Under the caption of "Middlesex Canal Navigation," a notice, undated, but be-

lieved to belong to the first decade of the nineteenth century, gives details of the conditions imposed by the proprietorship upon shippers and passengers. It is as follows:

The public are informed that a large Boat, called the Washington, conveying upwards of thirty tons, covered so as to secure goods and passengers from the rain, and having two commodious rooms in her, will proceed from the head of the canal (having laid there one day previously to receive freight) on every Thursday morning, and arrive at Charlestown the same day before night. She will remain at Charlestown from Thursday to the next Tuesday, to receive freight, in which interim she can proceed over to Boston to deliver freight brought down the Canal, or to take on freight to be transported into the country. The Boat is drawn by two horses, having a relief on the way, and conducted by Mr. Wardwell. The passengers will bring their provisions on board, as there can be no delay to go on shore for refreshment. The passage money is four cents a mile, and passengers will be taken on and landed where they shall choose. The toll for Canalage, is, at the rate of one-sixth of a dollar for a ton each mile. And the expense of transportation in the boat is three cents and an half for each mile. The property will be secure from hazard or accident, and delivered to the owner or his consignee where he directs. If nobody appears to take it, the Agent of the Canal Corporation will hold it, subjected to payment of storage, until the owner or his consignee appears. The toll and transportation between Charlesown and the head of the Canal is twenty-eight miles. Goods brought to, or carried from, Boston, will pay for thirty miles. Goods will be taken on and landed at Medford, Woburn, Wilmington and Chelmsford. But this must be done so as not to prevent the Boat from effecting a punctual arrival at the ends of the Canal. There are other boats ready on the Canal to proceed when there shall be business for them. The regulation suggested will apply to the other boats, subject to such alterations as experience shall dictate for all the boats employed.

**The First Railroad**—During the canal period, that is, the few years before railways became an actuality, many wonderful schemes were considered for the joining of all the principal streams in the east in one vast canal system. The Merrimac was to be connected with the Connecticut, and the Connecticut with the Hudson. The Erie Canal had been projected and its building nearing completion. From New Hampshire to the Lakes, the idea had a remarkable appeal. Loammi Baldwin suggested the piercing of the Hoosac Mountain with a tunnel, so that there might be uninterrupted navigation from Massachusetts Bay to Lake Erie.

Most of the schemes were condemned as chimerical. Baldwin's scheme for a tunnel caused more laughter than serious consideration. The tunnel was to be four miles long, twenty feet wide and thirteen and a half feet wide. The cost was variously estimated at from $700,000 to $1,200,000. There was, of course, no such lengthy tunnel in the world. As usual there were those who took the attitude that what never had been made could never be constructed. Before the bore was made through Hoosac Mountain, the railway had caught the public attention,

and the interest that had been given to canal building was turned toward railroad construction. It is interesting to note, that the "impossible tunnel" projected for a canal was later built for a railroad and at almost the same place selected by Baldwin.

England seems to have proven the feasibility of rail and steam transportation before America was ready to consider it. England as a more densely settled country had the greater possibilities in railroad construction. It takes tremendous sums to build a railroad across country where the towns are few and far apart. The history of our longest steam lines is one of failure and losses to the original builders. Not until the road has developed the territory is enough traffic secured that makes the line pay. Again, the original costs are so large, that it is necessary for much of the first cost to be written off at the expense of the early subscribers before dividends can be paid on the lower valuation.

The first railroad in America was the Mohawk and Hudson from Albany to Schenectady. The first locomotive used on this road was the Brother Jonathan built at West Point. Most of the later used engines were imported from England, but never displaced Brother Jonathan in the affection of the people. The first train left Albany on July 27, 1831. The poor Brother Jonathan seems to have developed internal troubles on this trip, and had to be drawn part of the way by horses, but he soon recovered and the road was a notable success.

In Massachusetts, the idea of steam rail transportation had been in the minds of some since 1828. Only one man had the tenacity of purpose to endeavor to make something of the idea. Patrick Tracy Jackson, one of the famous five who founded the textile industries of Lowell, was the sole individual that made the first railroad in the county and State something more than an idea. He had been one of the company which had bought the water privileges around East Chelmsford, and erected the factories in the present Lowell. The output of the mills were carried to market in the summer time by the Middlesex Canal, but in the winter dependence was upon the none too good roads and horse-drawn vehicles. He saw that as the business of the town increased there had to be a better way of getting goods to Boston and the seaboard.

To Jackson, the only worthwhile way was by the railway, still in the experimental stage in England, with never a road in this country. Maturing his plans, he formed a company which was incorporated in 1830. Subscriptions were secured, based on confidence in the man rather than in his road. Not only did he push the building of the road through, but he did it on a scale that was not equalled elsewhere until years later. It was constructed for a double track, with grades worked out and reduced to a maximum of ten feet to the mile, all sharp curves or abrupt gradients avoided.

All his efforts met with opposition, in spite of the fact that he had the money and the right of way to build the road. Canals were fought because they were improvements of the water-ways that God had made. Turnpikes were objected to because they would charge money for the right to travel on them, and they would also compete with the newly built canals. And the railroad was violently opposed because it competed with both the canal and turnpike. Progress seems always to stir up opposition.

When in 1829 a petition was presented to the Legislature to incorporate a railroad between Boston and Lowell, a committee of the directors of the already established water route, consisting of William Sullivan, Joseph Coolidge and George Hallett, at once offered a "Remonstrance of the Proprietors of Middlesex Canal against the Grant of a Charter to build a Railroad from Boston to Lowell." As part of their argument the protestants delivered themselves as follows:

> It is believed that no safer or cheaper mode of conveyance can be established (than the Middlesex Canal), or any so well adapted for conveying heavy and bulky articles. To establish, therefore, a substitute for the canal alongside of it, and for the whole distance, and in many places within a few rods of it, and to do that which the canal was made to do, seems to be a measure not called for by any exigency, nor one which the Legislature can permit, without implicitly declaring that all investments of money in public enterprises must be subject to the will of any applicants who think that they may justly benefit themselves, and that they may do it without regard to older enterprises, which have a claim to protection from public authority. With regard, then, to transportation of tonnage goods, the means exist for all but the winter months as effectually as any that can be provided. There is a supposed source of revenue to a railroad from carrying passengers. As to this the remonstrants venture no opinion, except to say that passengers are now carried, at all hours, as rapidly and safely as they are anywhere else in the world; and if the usual time consumed in passing from one place to the other be three hours, there seems not to be any exigency to make that space of time one-half of what it now is, as to justify the establishment of a railroad for that purpose merely, if the establishment would, as it is thought is must, draw after it eventually all other transportation. To this the remonstrants would add that the use of a railroad for passengers only has been tested by experience nowhere hitherto, and that it remains to be known whether this is a mode which will command general confidence and approbation, and that, therefore, no facts are now before the public which furnish the conclusion that the grant of a railroad is a public exigency, even for such a purpose. The remonstrants would also add that so far as they know there can be a sufficient inducement to extend a railroad westwardly and northwestwardly to the Connecticut, as to make it the great avenue to and from the interior, but that its termination must be at Lowell and, consequently, that it is to be a substitute for the modes of transportation now in use and cannot deserve patronage from the supposition that it is to be more extensively useful.

**First Railroad in Massachusetts**—The Lowell railroad was opened to that city on June 24, 1835. Completed, it passed through Somerville,

Medford, Winchester, Woburn, Wilmington, Billerica and Tewksbury into Lowell. It was not only the first railroad in Middlesex but the first in Massachusetts. It was only twenty-six miles, but branches were added in the next few years. The next two decades was the "Golden Age" of pioneer railway construction in the county.

The Andover and Wilmington was projected in 1833; a branch of the Lowell, it later became a part of the Boston and Maine. The Nashua and Lowell was chartered in 1836, and opened to Nashua on October 8, 1838, passing through Chelmsford and Tyngsborough. The Lawrence and Lowell ran its first trains in 1848, most of it being outside Middlesex; the Salem and Lowell, entering the county at Reading, dates from 1850. The old Middlesex Central branched from the Lowell at Somerville and traversed Arlington, Lexington and Bedford to Concord; the Woburn branch came from Winchester to Woburn; the Stoneham section from East Woburn to Stoneham; and there were Mystic and Lawrence branches that were connected with these small divisions.

A railroad, which, while it passed through little of the county, yet was of great importance to it, was the Worcester and Boston, now the Boston and Albany. This line was incorporated in 1831, with a capital of $1,000,000. It touched Newton, Weston, Natick, Framingham and Ashland, in its winding way, and was the principal outlet of the southern side of the county. The length to Worcester was forty-four miles, then a long and hard day's journey by stage coach. The promise of the railroad to reduce this to three or four hours was laughed to scorn. Four miles an hour over the highways was speedy travel; twelve miles by steam was impossible, or if possible, too dangerous to be attempted. Business was very slow the first years.

Work was begun on the Boston and Worcester late in the summer of 1833, and the road was completed to Worcester in 1835. There was a very "grand" celebration in the latter-mentioned town when in July, 1835, the whole of three hundred passengers were conveyed safely to that terminus, in just a little more than three hours. It was a marvelous achievement, and the people that made the first trip felt very brave and proud.

What the early railroads meant in the growth of the settlements they served is well illustrated in the effects of this one on Worcester. Although connected with Providence by the Blackstone Canal, and busy with a slowly developing set of industries, the village then (1835) had only about 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. Within five years, the population was 7,500, a greater gain than it had made in the previous four decades. Middlesex County made a gain of more than 30,000 between the years 1840 to 1850, or from 77,961 to 106,611, the increase largely being confined to the railroad towns. Lowell jumped from 6,474 in 1830 to 20,967

ten years later; Newton and Woburn each made a fifty per cent increase. Of course much of this growth was due to the rapid expansion of manufacturing, but this industry could hardly have developed without the aid which the railways gave. What the railroad meant to Boston was indicated in a speech of Abbott Lawrence, the great merchant, at a celebration of the completion of the road. Said he:

> I trust that you all know from experience, what I certainly do, what this vast increase of business means in our city within a few months past. I ask you as business men, what caused this increase? We have yet no great connecting link with any distant country,—still, there is at least a quarter more people in the city every day engaged in traffic. What—if small matters already completed (not extending over forty miles) can do so much,—what will result from connecting our city with the Erie Canal, with Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the mighty Mississippi? You will call me over-enthusiastic, but I cannot but tell half the advantages which I think would be derived from opening this road to the Hudson River. I believe the city of Boston and its neighborhood are destined, if this project would be effected, to a change far more than the city of New York changed when the Grand Canal was completed. Within one year in our own city, it has advanced more (real estate), it has doubled in value; it could not without real value, during the pressure of the last two years, have held its own, but it came out with an advance. What will be the effect of a railroad to connect this city with the great west, I forbear to estimate.

To return to the Worcester road; the branches which it built or acquired in the county became valuable feeders. From Newtown Falls a section was built to Riverside; the Milford branch extended from Framingham through Sherborn and Holliston; the Saxonville line from Natick to that place in Framingham. The Western railroad went on to Springfield from Worcester in 1839, and to the Hudson opposite Albany two years later. Thus was the desired connection given with the famous river, and the advantages reaped by Massachusetts exceeded the expectations, Middlesex sharing largely in the prizes. The Western and Worcester and Boston consolidated in 1867 as the Boston and Albany Railroad.

The third great railway built in the county, and perhaps the most important, since the most of its mileage was in Middlesex, was the Fitchburg Railroad. This was chartered in 1843, built to Waltham in December of the same year; to Concord in the summer of 1844; and to Fitchburg by March 5, 1845. It passed through the county from east to west through Somerville, Cambridge, Belmont, Waltham, Weston, Lincoln, Concord, thence northwest through Acton, Boxborough, Littleton, Groton and Shirley. Branches at Watertown to Waltham; from Acton through Maynard, Stow, Hudson to Marlborough; and the Peterborough and Shirley Branch from Ayer through Groton and Townsend and on to Peterborough. With its connection out of the county the

Fitchburg became one of the great trunk lines from Boston to Vermont and New Hampshire in one direction, and Troy in another.

The Boston and Maine skirts the eastern part of the county, and by its branches taps several of the eastern line towns. One of the most valuable of the smaller connecting lines was built in 1845, through Wilmington, Reading, Melrose, Malden and Somerville. Among the many small independent railroads, built principally by subscription taken in the towns through which they were to pass, mention may be made of: The Worcester and Nashua, opened in 1848, and traversing Ayer, Groton, Pepperell and Dunstable; the Hopkinton, from Milford to Ashland (1872); the Boston, Clinton, Fitchburg and New Bedford, a lengthy title for so small a road, touched the county at Framingham and Sherborn.

The Framingham and Lowell, built in 1873, passed through Framingham, Sudbury, Acton, Carlisle and Chelmsford to Lowell and was as long although only a branch as the Middlesex Canal.

The Stony Brook Railroad extended from Lowell to Ayer, passing through Ayer, Westford, and Chelmsford. The Nashua, Acton, and Boston Road of 1873 passed the county through Dunstable, East Groton, Graniteville, Westford, East Littleton and North Acton.

There were a number of other railroads, some of them of the narrow gauge variety, such as the Billerica and Bedford, eight miles long and two feet wide. Most of them were failures, but it will be seen from the places crossed and recrossed by railways as early as 1870, that there was no room for any more than those already constructed. A glance at a railroad map of Middlesex gives the impression that some spider had spun its web over the county, and that the spider's home was at Boston.

**Consolidation of Roads**—The multiplication of roads in Middlesex was a very natural development of the period, particularly when it is realized that Boston was the second port in the United States, and the natural outlet for the State and county. These roads converged on the Metropolis, the network of rails crowded the highways, seldom was a county so quickly provided with transportation as Middlesex from 1835 to 1870. Much money was lost, for towns went far beyond their means in trying to persuade the company to lay its tracks through its district. There are only three towns in the county without a railroad, and all three are so because in the dark ages of railroad building, they were avoided because of their failure to subscribe what the projectors decided they must. First the roads were separate bits. Then ends were joined and mergers made. After the Civil War came parallel construction, or the endeavor to so lap a road that its business might be stolen. The competition was ruinous, both the building and the scramble for freight and passengers. This condition continued until the '80s or '90s, and

carried bankruptcy in its train. This was the period when many of the cross country lines were built in Middlesex, and this was the time when the county financiers paid dearly for what was a very great benefit to Middlesex. Consolidation is still going on, but with the endeavor to reduce the money load of the roads and increase their carrying power.

The "New Haven" is the greatest result of consolidation in New England, a most remarkable road with probably 4,500 miles of track. It has had more to do with the exploitation and growth of New England than any other transportation system. But, in the main, its strength lies to the south of Boston, and any benefit it may have been to the county is of an indirect nature. The Boston and Maine is the Middlesex Railroad, par excellence. Its trunk lines and branches tap every part of the county. It also is a great road, but has developed along different lines, possibly because much of its trackage is in sections of less rapid growth than the New Haven. Perhaps too little use has been made of the line, particularly by the farmer. At any rate, the railway seems to have passed the peak of growth. In Middlesex, there are evidently all the tracks needed, and no new construction is going on. On some of the divisions there are fewer trains than were running a half century ago. The railroad is struggling with a competition that threatens to choke it. In the beginning Middlesex had highways, then canals, then railroads; now the progression is reversed. After the railway came the horse car, then the trolley car, and now it would seem that we are back to the highway with bus and truck and motor car driving the railroad from the throne.

**Street Car Lines**—The first competitor of the railway was the street car line, used and needed to join distant parts of a city. Boston put into operation one of the earliest of the electrified systems, an example which was promptly followed by Middlesex. The county towns improved on the example by stretching the lines out beyond town limits, and the suburban system of lines had its start. In a few years there was a network of tracks laid that surpassed the spider web of the steam roads. Express service was added, then freight. Speed was increased, and with it comfort. These lines reached towns not touched by steam roads, and gave the rural producer and consumer, the merchant and consumer in the towns quick and economical access to each other. The opening of the isolated districts proved a blessing to the railroads, for trolley lines became feeders. The railroads bought up and controlled many of these electric lines. A few trunk roads were built through the county, notably one to Worcester.

This is getting ahead of our story, for it was the horse-drawn car lines that followed the steam railroad. Cambridge, in Middlesex, constructed and operated successfully the first horse railroad in New Eng-

land. In 1853, Gardiner C. Hubbard, Charles C. Little and Isaac Livermore received a State charter for the Cambridge Railroad Company. On March first the tracks had been laid to Chambers Street, Boston, and ten days later horse-drawn cars began regular trips to that terminus. The road proved efficient, although many of the passengers refused to risk their lives when it came to the hills. This Cambridge company leased the tracks to the Union Railroad Company, which eventually sold it to the West End Company, now better known as the Boston Elevated Railways, although most of the latter's tracks are on the surface or under-ground.

Lowell, although the largest city in the county, did not have a horse car until after the Civil War. Perhaps no place in Middlesex needed one more than Lowell, for the city had a tendency to grow in widespread sections somewhat separated. The Lowell Horse Railroad had a monopoly of the situation until 1886, and with but few lines had done well. From 1887 on other roads were organized and tracks laid to the outlying districts, and greatly aided in the building up of former rural areas. From 1880 to 1885 the increase in the population of Lowell was seven per cent; from 1885 to 1895 the increase was twenty-two per cent, and the increase in traction lines four hundred per cent.

The principal companies in Middlesex, once the initial stage of horse railways had been passed, were the Union and the Middlesex Companies. The Union has already been mentioned, and before electrification consisted of lines from Boston to Cambridge, Watertown, Arlington and Somerville. In 1878 it had thirty-four miles of tracks, and during that year carried 7,555,094 passengers.

The Middlesex Railroad Company operated lines between Melrose and Malden; the Medford and Charlestown line, a line from Somerville to Bunker Hill in Charlestown and on into Boston. The most of these are now a part of the Boston Elevated System.

Woburn had a short line; a three-mile section connected Newton with Waltham; and there was a road from Stoneham to Melrose.

The three principal street railway companies in Middlesex County at the present time are: The Boston Elevated, the Boston and Worcester, and the Middlesex and Boston.

The greater part of the horse roads began to change to electricity as a motive power around 1890, Cambridge and Lowell being leaders. These cities were among the first in America to electrify their lines. In 1888 a small group of Boston capitalists went down to Richmond to look over an electric system that had created much talk. There they saw Frank T. Sprague's little trolley cars come buzzing out of their barns and go nonchalantly on their way down the street. They climbed steep hills, threaded their way in and out of heavy traffic. They had a

speed and controllability far beyond the horse-drawn car. These men returned to Boston convinced that here was the new method of running surface lines, and they took steps which made Boston the first large city in the United States to use the new "Trolley System." Cambridge and Lowell were the first places in the county to follow Boston's example.

The Boston Elevated Railway System now owns or controls the larger share of the trolley lines in the eastern part of Middlesex, including all the roads leading into Boston and the most of the branch lines connecting these with each other. Connections are made at the terminus of their own tracks with the other Middlesex companies. The Boston "System" is now a combination of surface, subway and elevated railways joining Boston with eleven surrounding towns and cities, the area directly served having an aggregate population of 1,220,000. It represents a total investment of $148,000,000, has 488 miles of track used by surface trolleys, 45 miles used by third-rail trains, a total of 533. About 2,200 passenger cars are used, and daily more than 1,000,000 passengers are carried, or double the number carried by the combined steam railroads of New England. The total number of travelers on the whole of Middlesex County's systems in 1800-1880 was less than 15,000,000 yearly.

**Motor Travel**—The latest stage in the present-day transportation is that of the motor vehicle along the public hard-surfaced highways. The steam road has been expanded with the growth of the county, until it is no longer necessary to extend the trackage. The trolley system, in three decades had gone beyond the needs of the people, and all over Middlesex may be found rusting rails of the electric roads where their services are no longer required. The public highways have been so improved that there are few villages not situated upon some wide smooth hard road. On these in the last two decades has grown up a mighty traffic, subsidiary to the railroads, but almost displacing them in some respects. The motor car and the bus are more convenient carriers than rail cars can ever be. The motor truck calls at the farm or store, is loaded and conveys to the final destination products that the railroad requires four times as long to carry, and for which it must charge a larger price. The transportation systems of Middlesex are amply sufficient to handle all the traffic that the county can supply. They seemingly are prepared to keep step with any conceivable advance made in industries and productions. The problem now is whether the railroads can hold their own until the pendulum of progress swings again their way, or another and as yet unthought of means of transportation replaces the rail system.

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The history of medicine and of its practitioners in Massachusetts has many unique features. The first colony in the State reaped indirectly the advantages derived from the almost complete wiping out of the Indians by smallpox or yellow fever, for had the aborigines been strong in number they probably would have destroyed the early settlers. The Plymouth Colony, however, was all but eliminated by the Indian disease during that memorable first winter, when only a dozen of the men survived. Possibly the first physician in the New World was "Deacon" Samuel Fuller of Plymouth; the first doctor, State-sustained, was John Pratt, who lived in Cambridge, who was sent with the Winthrop pioneers and paid by the Massachusetts Bay Company. John Winthrop, the Governor, was well versed in medicine, himself, the elder Cotton saying of him just before his death, that he had been a "Help for our Bodies by Physick." The earliest medical society in this country of which there is any record was one mentioned in 1725; the oldest medical society in the United States, with an unbroken record, is the Massachusetts Medical Society, incorporated November 1, 1781. The first "Chemist's" Shop was set up in Boston; the first appearance of yellow fever in the States occurred in 1693 at Boston. Possibly the Salem witchcraft delusion might be called the first outbreak of hysteria; the first autopsy was performed in 1675, mentioned in the Roxbury Church records. The earliest treatise on a medical subject was published in 1677-8; and Cotton Mather got in a great deal of trouble by being in advance of his time, in advocating inoculation against smallpox. No doubt there are many other things in connection with medicine, in which Massachusetts and Middlesex were the pioneers, but enough has been mentioned to show something of the unique place the Commonwealth and county hold in the development of medicine in this country.

When in 1620, the "Mayflower" unloaded the Pilgrims at Plymouth, they came ashore in fear and trembling to build their homes in the midst of a numerous and "ferocious" race. Had not early visitors to the land returned with tales of the many Indians? But when once located a chief visits them, and is asked concerning the vast numbers of his nation. In reply, he tells a sad tale of their decimation by a frightful pestilence. Only a year or two previously a plague had raged, taking nine-tenths or more of the people as its toll. As Cotton Mather phrases

it: "Yea, 'tis said, Nineteen of Twenty among them; So that the Woods were almost cleared of these pernicious Creatures to make Room for a better Growth." What this plague was seems still to be a matter of doubt, for evidence can be brought that it was neither yellow fever nor smallpox, and it certainly must have been one of the two. Judging from later troubles, it seems probable that it was the smallpox. It was the latter disease, complicated with scurvy resulting from the restricted diet on the way over, and for that matter, during the first winter here, that nearly brought to an end the first colony. Only a dozen men and three times that number of women and children survived until spring. Doctor Samuel Fuller, the only physician in the group, was one of the survivors. He must have been a busy man, not only for that winter but for the next ten, as he was the only physician in the colony for that length of time.

**The Indian Doctor**—The notion that the Indian had any remarkable knowledge of herbal remedies, or that the Indian doctor was of any great use either to his own race or the whites, is hardly tenable. He had some ways of stewing roots and herbs into messes that relieved some of the simple troubles sometimes, but he also put into these concoctions materials that were surely harmful. If one could survive his doses, the doses were credited with the cure. For himself, the Indian preferred to have the professional "medicine man" hold a pow-wow over him, make some awesome incantation, rather than to take his own medicine. Where the idea came from that the Indian doctor was a wonder worker is hard to grasp; one of the most difficult lessons taught by the missionaries to the aborigine, was the lesson in simple medicine, the lesson in not harming himself by adding to his disease by harmful doses. The Indian suffered and died from the most ordinary ailments; against any severe disease he had no resistance; he was always a menace to the settlers, to be feared for his condition rather than his arrows.

**Arrival of First Doctor**—The Plymouth Colony was never numerous, and the most of its people poor. The settlements made by the Massachusetts Company, particularly those under the leadership of Winthrop, were those by men of means and education. When this Company planned to develop the grant it had secured, one of the first discussions was concerning the medical man who should accompany the first shipload. Doctor John Pratt was the man secured, and sent under these conditions: "That £40 should bee allowed him viz, for his Chist 25s the Rest his own sallery for the first yeere provided that he (continue) 3 yeeres"; wife and child to be transported at the Company's expense twenty pounds a year for the second and third years, and to build him a house on the Company's charge with an allotment of one hundred

acres. If he only stayed one year he was to have transportation back, but his "chist" was to revert to the Company. This was in 1628, March fifth; Pratt remained at Cambridge.

Many of the ministers of that time were also learned in medicine, although lacking in practice. The fact of the matter is, that medicine and theology were wedded, the divorce coming later, when it was found that one man could not be efficient in medicine, religion, government, law and the rest of the professions and trades. Perhaps, because so little was known of all these subjects it was thought possible for one head to contain all that was then known. There were few books, knowledge of pathology was entirely lacking, and anatomy almost so. The word anatomy stood for skeleton, and it was to this that John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians, referred in 1647 when he complained that "we never had but one anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. Giles Firman did make and read very well." Eliot was then trying to train his Indian students at Natick in "Physick" and he felt he could not give the proper training without a skeleton to practice on. Evidently the General Court felt the same way about it for just after the receipt of Eliot's letter, it had made the recommendation that "we conceive it very necessary that such as studies phisick, or chirurgery may the liberty to reade anotomy & to anotomize once in fouree yeares some malefactor in case there be such as the Court will alow of" (1647).

Two years later, 1649, a law was passed controlling the practice of medicine that would not make a bad model for modern legislation of the subject. It was an attempt to limit the practice of medicine and surgery to "such as are skillful in the Art" and required the practitioners to "make the right use of their skill." It was based on the idea stated in the introduction that, "Forasmuch as the Law of God allowes no man to impaire the Life, or Limbs of any Person, but in a judicial way" no one but skilled "Chirugeons, Midwives and Physitians" must "presume to exercise, or put forth an act contrary to the known approved Rules of Art." A few years later, consideration was given to a scheme by which "physitians & chirurgions" were to be examined for their fitness and licensed. As there was no provision for training, nor any standard of measurement or test of fitness the rules of the time meant little. They did tend, however, to keep the practice of medicine in the hands of skilled and educated men.

**Earlier Remedies**—When some of the practices of the day are recalled, and the remedies used at that early time, it seems of doubtful benefit to keep alive those that used them. As one writer says: "An 'electuary of millepedes' looks learned, and sounds as though it might be sweet; but looks are nothing and sound is empty, when we consider that *millepedes* is the scientific name for sowbugs, so common in this

country, under damp soggy planks. Excretions and secretions were employed as curative agents, and had their parts to play in the treatment of disease. These remedies were prescribed by the best physicians two hundred years ago (1681)." An article in the "Boston Gazette," December 18, 1753, is entitled "Examples of Great Medicines drawn from unpromising Bodies." It was based on an English book of 1664. Some of the sub-heads were: "The use of Horse-dung;" the "Medical Virtues of Human Urine" and "The great Effects of Sow Bugs." In some of our libraries may still be found a reprint of a book of John Josselyn, an Englishman, written in 1663, and published in 1672. It is called "New England Rarities Discovered: in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents and Plants of that Country, Together with The Physical and Chyrurgical Remedies wherewith the Natives constantly used to Cure their Distempers, Wounds and Sores." Some of the remedies mentioned were the picking, or "scarifying the gums" with an osprey's bill, or the thorn from the back of the dogfish, to cure toothache; "Beacers Cods are much used for wind in the stomack and belly; Moose horns are better for physick than the horns of any other deer; a stone found in the head of the cod-fish stopped fluxes of the blood, and one found in their bellies is a remedy for stone in the bladder." Another is not so unfamiliar to some ears, that "Bears greese is good for aches and swellings," and perhaps the use of watermelon in fevers was not so unwise. Some of the herbs and roots mentioned in the book were used for many years, some even being exported to England for medicinal purposes. Those of England were early transplanted, and soon became naturalized. A few became weeds, such as dandelion, burdock, plantain and others, and plague the farmer to this day.

That strange practices and stranger remedies were used by the physicians of the early colony, is no cause for any lack of respect for the practitioners of that period. Possibly three centuries hence what is done today will be a source of amusement. No science changes and advances more often or rapidly than medicine, and the doctors of 1626-46 were the equals of their fellows in scholarship and skill. And when we consider how few they were, how wide was their field, we can only pay them the homage which is their due. Many of their names were great among men, and some of them left a posterity that has been the forefront of modern day science. John Winthrop has been mentioned for his knowledge of medicine. His work as Governor is familiar to every student of history. His son, of the same name, once Governor of Connecticut, was a noted physician, and a member of the Royal Society of England. The third generation and the fourth had members of the medical fraternity. Many more examples might be found by one who desired.

**Earlier Physicians**—Giles Firmin came to this country in 1632, an apothecary and physician. Giles, Junior, educated in Cambridge, England, returned to Cambridge in our county, and probably was the first teacher in medicine in New England. He later became a minister. John Eliot was a doctor and tried to teach the Indians what he knew. Charles Chauncey and Leonard Hoar, both of whom graced the presidency of Harvard, were both graduates of Cambridge, England, in medicine. John Rogers, the fifth president of Harvard, was a doctor, and the first graduate of that school to become its head. The fact that several of the presidents of the institution were physicians does not mean that the college became a medical school, or that many of its graduates became physicians. It is said that the total number of graduates up to 1750 to receive medical degrees was only nine, and all of these degrees were gained abroad. Between 1737 and 1750, "five graduated who many years later received from the College the degree of M. D., *pro honoris causa*. These were Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, Dr. Cotton Tufts, Dr. John Sprague, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch and Dr. Oliver Prescott."

The names of several women physicians have come down to us, although most of these were midwives and the wives of doctors. Green mentions Anne Hutchinson as the "earliest of the sisterhood" who practiced in Massachusetts. She came to Boston in 1636 and is spoken of as a person "very helpful in the times of childbirth and other occasions of bodily infirmity, and well furnished with means for those purposes." She was banished for her heretical beliefs and teachings, and was slain by the Indians not far from New York City. The town of Rehoboth, on July 3, 1663, "voted... that Mrs. Bridget Fuller, of Plymouth, should be sent for... to dwell among us, to attend to the office of a midwife." She was the widow of Dr. Fuller, of "Mayflower" fame, and evidently refused the invitation. Under the date, November 27, 1665, the Roxbury Church records show that a Mrs. Sarah Alcock, "very skilled in physick and chirurgery" was one of the inhabitants of the town whose "workes praise her within the gates." She was the wife of a physician who died in 1667. The following from Samuel Abbott Green gives a side light on the times: "The following quaint epitaph is found in the Phipps Street burying ground at Charlestown, and would seem to indicate that occasionally in early times midwives were commissioned to practice their calling. Some mischievous person has skilfully changed the number on the stone slab so that 3,000 reads 130,000:

> Here lyes Interred ye Body of
> Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, wife
> to Mr. Eleazer Phillips. Who
> was born in Westminster, in Great

Brittain, & Commissioned by John
Lord, Bishop of London, in ye Year
1718 to ye Office of a Midwife: & came
to this Country, in ye Year 1719. & by
ye Blessing of God, has brought into
this world above 3000 children:
Died May 6th 1761, Aged 76 years."

**First Inoculations**—There were numerous efforts made in the Colonial days to remedy the lack of books on medical subjects. The first of the known treatises published was written by a minister, Thomas Thatcher, and bears the date January 21, 1677-78. The title is "A Brief Rule to guide the Common People of New England How to order themselves and theirs in Small Pocks, or Measels." Dr. Increase Mather published in 1721, "some further Account from London, of the Small-Pox Inoculated." This was only one of several pamphlets by the doctor, and had been printed previously in the "Boston Gazette," February 5, 1721-22. There were many curious prints issued after this time which have an interest historical, if not medical.

The most interesting feature of medical thought, and of writing, had to do with variolous inoculation. The leader of the inoculation clans was Dr. Douglas, a Scotsman, who had come to Boston in 1718. He was well posted, even learned, but lacking in tact and care in statement. It was wittily said of him that he was always positive and sometimes accurate. He precipitated a free-for-all fight over the question whether it was best to inoculate against smallpox. Many of the ministers became involved in the argument since these were more often the "peers of the doctors" in medical knowledge, though with less clinical experience. Cotton Mather seems to have been the pioneer in introducing the idea of inoculation, it having been practiced for some time by the Turks with success. The scheme was strenuously opposed in this country, with Douglas as leader in the opposition. Only after a large number of inoculations, with good results, did this practice find favor. Dr. Boylston inoculated 247 persons, of whom only 6 died, and the pamphlet which he issued brought the ministerial and medical fraternity to his side of the question. When the small pox epidemic of 1752 raged, inoculation was generally used, even by Dr. Douglas. He later wrote expressing surprise that "the mother country should be so slow in taking up a method used with such success in the colonies. The introduction here of variolous inoculation was hardly two months after it had been tried in England, though Dr. Boylston and his co-adjutors had no knowledge of the fact."

To Douglas do we owe the best accounts of an epidemic which ravaged Boston and Cambridge in 1735-36. What it was could not be decided

by the physicians of that day, but it evidently was diphtheria, although some think it might have been scarlet fever. The disease was so severe that Boston took official action concerning it. The names of six physicians were signed to this, Nathaniel Williams, William Douglas, John Cutler, Hugh Kenedy, William Davis and Thomas Bulfinch. They may be taken as a list of the six leaders in the profession in 1736.

Inoculation hospitals were located in many parts of Eastern Massachusetts, none of which were in Middlesex, unless the use made of Charlestown in 1764 may be considered as such. It is to be recalled that the library of Harvard College was burned in this year while it was being used by the General Court which was sitting there because of the epidemic at Boston. Some of the present hospitals date their birth from this period.

The quarter century preceding the Revolution marked many changes in medical practices. The medical profession was now separated from the clerical. There was little formal instruction as yet, no schools or regular hospitals having yet been established. A doctor often got his start as an apprentice to an elder physician. He ground and compounded drugs, mixed ointments, made pills, acted as aid at all times when needed, accompanied the master in his daily rounds, and perhaps was questioned on what he had learned on the trip. If the apprentice wanted to add an M. D. to his name he had to go abroad and receive a diploma from some foreign school. There were no medical schools in this country. The absence of a title did not prevent practicing, and many of those who never had a diploma from any school were among the most popular and successful of the physicians, men such as John Cuming, of Concord, Oliver Prescott, of Groton, and Simon Tufts, of Medford.

This same period saw the gradual taking over of obstetrics by the doctor. Probably the first work on the subject published in this country was printed in Cambridge in 1786. In 1783, the Harvard Medical School was established with three teachers. During the Revolution several military hospitals were founded, in one of which, during the winter of 1780, a series of lectures and demonstrations were given by Dr. John Warren. These were a forerunner of others given in the Medical School by Warren, who was the professor of anatomy and surgery. The school was first known as the Medical Institution of Harvard College. Dr. Warren was the brother of Dr. Joseph Warren of Revolutionary fame, and the ancestor of a long line of physicians and instructors in medicine.

So far we have traced in outline the history of medicine and its practitioners to the close of the eighteenth century; the story of later development is too lengthy to be told here. Perhaps mention should be

made of the establishment of the Massachusetts General Hospital, chartered February 25, 1811, the leaders in the movement for which were in part from Middlesex County, notably Dr. James Jackson, of Cambridge. The Institution is the oldest in New England, and is a monument to the men of science and wealth who made it possible.

**Massachusetts Medical Society**—One of the results of the Revolution, as influencing the medical fraternity, was the drawing together of them in the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1781, a charter being granted to this organization on October 30 of that year. There is but one other State society with a charter antedating this, that of the New Jersey Medical Society, but which had breaks in its meetings from 1775 to 1781, and again from 1795 to 1807. The Massachusetts Society is, then, the oldest of the State societies having an unbroken record. The charter members, Nathaniel Appleton, William Baylies, Benjamin Curtis, Samuel Danforth, Aaron Dexter, Shirley Irving, John Frink, Joseph Gardner, Samuel Holten, Edward Augustus Holyoke, Ebenezer Hunt, Charles Jarvis, Thomas Kast, Giles Grouch Kellog, John Lynn, James Lloyd, Joseph Orne, James Pecker, Oliver Prescott, Charles Pynchon, Isaac Rand, Isaac Rand, Jr., Micaijah Sawyer, John Sprague, Charles Stockbridge, John Barnard Swett, Cotton Tifts, John Warren, Thomas Welch, Joseph Whipple, William Whiting, came from many different parts of the State, one being a resident of Cambridge, another from Groton, forming the Middlesex section of the Society. Edward Augustus Holyoke was elected president, Isaac Rand, Jr., secretary, and Thomas Welch, treasurer.

The publications of the society, now forming many volumes, have a great practical as well as historical value and interest. They were begun in 1890, and with the exception of a few interruptions have been issued regularly. Some notable early books were issued under the auspices of the Society, such as a Pharmacopoeia in 1808, prepared by Drs. James Jackson and John Collins Warren; the American New Dispensatory, by Dr. James Thatcher, published in 1810; the New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery, begun in 1812, and others of later date. Possibly an article printed by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge, stirred the medical interest of his day more than any other. This was in 1799, followed by another in the next year. These were concerning cow-pox, but described the method of vaccination by which he had protected his son against smallpox. The discovery by Edward Jenner of the protective power of vaccination had only recently become known in this country, and Waterhouse had been probably the first to put the discovery into practice. He had obtained some vaccine virus from Bristol, and while his first use of it was by "some infected

thread from England," later his use of quills, etc., approximated present methods. Massachusetts was the first colony to introduce smallpox inoculation; the first State to adopt kine-pox vaccination. Many experiments had to be carried out and the results made known to the people before vaccination on a large scale could win approval. The town of Milton was the first (1809) to extend the benefits of this new protection to its inhabitants.

The society has always been progressive and its members foremost in every medical, and oftimes other advance. A list of the improvements made in medical practice would have a list containing the names of members of the society who had introduced them or been the first advocates. During the Civil War, the Society not only hastened to give its services to the Government as a society, but as individuals took a conspicuous part in relief of the sufferings of the soldiery. Sixteen of the Fellows of the Society lost their lives while in the service, and many later paid with their lives for the patriotic endeavors of that time. Of the part played by the Society and medical fraternity in the World War, mention is made in the chapter on that subject.

**Middlesex Medical Society**—The Middlesex Medical Society was formed in 1829, holding its first meeting at Concord in May of that year. Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Chelmsford was the first president and Dr. S. S. Hurd, secretary. The first of the annual meetings was held May 19, 1830. This Medical Society only lasted until 1833; the expense and time used for a long trip by stage was more than the none too well paid physicians could afford. Perhaps the fact that the last meeting had been held at a far corner of the county, Charlestown, had somewhat to do with its demise.

In several of the larger towns, Cambridge, Concord and Lowell, there developed a custom of holding meetings at the various homes of the physicians in these places. The object was more social than medical, but out of these meetings grew local associations which, in some cases, developed into important organizations. The Lowell Medical Association was started at such a meeting March 8, 1839, and was for some time simply a voluntary affair. In 1844, a charter was sought from the Massachusetts Medical Society as a District Medical Society. On November 2, 1844, such an organization was perfected, known as the Middlesex District Medical Society. A few years later, the county was divided into two districts by the State, and Lowell and eighteen towns were included in the north district, causing a change in the titling of the organization to the North District Medical Society, 1850.

The history of this society is, as one writer has expressed it, "one of dry records and fragrant memories." For years it had no set place of

meeting, the meetings were poorly attended, and had it not been for the legal connection with the State body, the society would had given up the ghost. The late Dr. Edwards summed the situation up thiswise: "Society called to order by the President, Vice-president or some one else, as the case might be. Records of the last meeting read and approved; no quorum being present, the meeting adjourned."

The society took on a new lease of life in 1879 when the custom was established of having a fine banquet, a custom still kept up. In more recent years the summer session is usually combined with an outing. The earlier presidents of the North District Medical Society, with their place of residence, is as follows: Nehemiah Cutter, Pepperell, 1844-47; Elisha Huntington, Lowell, 1848-49; John C. Dalton, Lowell, 1850-52; Nathan Allen, Lowell, 1853-55; Hanover Dickey, Lowell, 1856-58; John W. Graves, Lowell, 1858-59; Charles A. Savory, Lowell, 1860-62; John C. Bartlett, Lowell, 1863-64; Jonathan Brown, Tewksbury, 1856-67; Jeremiah P. Jewett, Lowell, 1868; Joel Spalding, Lowell, 1869-70; Gilman Kimball, Lowell, 1871-72; Levi Howard, Chelmsford, 1873-74; Daniel P. Gage, Lowell, 1878; Lorenzo S. Fox, Lowell, 1876-77; George H. Pilsbury, Lowell, 1878-79; George E. Pinkham, Lowell, 1880-81; Charles Dutton, Tyngsborough, 1882-83; William Bass, Lowell, 1884-85; Walter H. Leighton, Lowell, 1886; Nathan B. Edwards, Chelmsford, 1887-88; Hermon J. Smith, Lowell, 1889-90.

The towns forming the original society in 1844, were, besides Lowell: Acton, Ashby, Billerica, Carlisle, Chelmsford, Concord, Dracut, Dunstable, Groton, Littleton, Pepperell, Shirley, Tewksbury, Townsend, and Tyngsborough. In 1848, to these were added Stow and Westford; since then Asby, Ayer, Concord, Shirley, Stow and Townsend have been taken away. In 1855 three district societies were established in the county, Middlesex North, East and South.

**Practice of Homœopathy**—The medical societies mentioned, so far, have been those of allopaths, homœopathy being a child of a later generation. Samuel Hahnemann, a German physician, was the first to define and promulgate the principles of this new school. He began his work in 1796 and lived long enough (he died in Paris in 1844), to see his system established. In 1825, Hans Christian Gram, a Danish physician, introduced the system in New York. In 1838, Dr. Samuel Gregg, of Medford, was the first to practice it in the Middlesex County, and probably in New England, giving Middlesex the honor of being the birthplace of homœopathy in New England.

In 1840 the first homœopathic society was formed in Boston, under the title, The Homœopathic Fraternity. Increasing in numbers, it was given a charter by the State in 1856 as the Homœopathic Medical

Society of Massachusetts. A number of local societies are affiliated with the present organization. The first incorporated institution of this school of medicine was the Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital, dating from 1855, but not opening for patients until 1871. The second institution was the Homœopathic Dispensary, incorporated in 1856. Another noted institution was the Westboro Insane Hospital, founded in 1844. There are a number of other institutions wholly or partly under homœopathic care, and hospitals have been established in several parts of the county, notably at Newton and Malden, where both schools of treatment are used. The Boston University School of Medicine, established in 1873, is the greatest factor in the spread of homœopathy in the county and New England. This was one of the first medical schools in America to raise the standard of medical education to a high plane, one putting it on a par with other technical institutions.

**Earlier Physicians in Lowell**—Lowell, as the first and the largest city in Middlesex, has always been the home of a large number of doctors in the surrounding towns. To choose a few from this overwhelming number, and attempt to outline their lives and services to the communities in which they served, is rather difficult. The successful physician was a leader in his community, and by some he was considered to be the foremost in his profession. Even a list would leave out many who, by some, should have been placed at the head. The following sketches of a few of the older members of the profession are condensed from Dr. Patterson's "Necrology of the Physicians of Lowell and Vicinity," published in 1898; an article by Edmund H. Packer, M.D., and others:

Evidently the first resident physician of Lowell was Dr. Samuel Coburn, grandson of Edward Coburn, the original settler of Dracut. He was born in Chelmsford in 1684, and died December 22, 1756. Little is known of his medical record except that he did practice in the vicinity of what is now Lowell.

Dr. Amos Bradley, who lived near Dracut Center, the son of Deacon Amos Bradley, mentioned so often in Dracut annals of the Revolutionary War in which he had a prominent part, was a native of Dracut, born October 2, 1762. He practiced for nearly forty years, making his office the ancestral farm. For half of his medical life he was the only permanent physician in the vicinity. His circuit included sections of several towns and extended into New Hampshire. Upon his death, May 6, 1817, he was succeeded by his son, Peleg Bradley, M.D., who had been associated with him for a number of years. Dr. Peleg was born May 26, 1792, and continued in active practice for thirty years, a practice which had limits even greater than his father's, spreading into Methuen, Andover, Tewksbury, and Billerica. The service of these two

men, almost alone in a vast territory, covers a period of 65 years. One would expect the rewards of their work would include at least enough of this world's goods to have made them wealthy, but neither of them attained such a condition. Perhaps this was due partly to the very extensiveness of the field, but mostly to the very small fees charged, and too kindly a disposition which prevented the collection of them. Dr. Bradley's office charge, including medicine, was only twenty-five cents; for a visit to the home, fifty cents. Dr. Peleg Bradley died September 26, 1848, when only fifty-six.

Dr. Zadoc Howe was another of the well-known early physicians whose practice covered wide sections of northern Middlesex County. He was born at Bolton, Connecticut, February 15, 1777; received his education at Foxborough in Massachusetts, studied medicine in the office of Dr. Miller of Franklin, and after a time spent as the partner of his teacher in a cancer infirmary, and practice in Boston, settled at Billerica. He was a clever surgeon, a shrewd observer and an efficient collector of what was owing him. He died March 8, 1851, leaving a large estate, of which $30,000 was willed to establish an academy in his home town of Billerica. He had an original way of conducting investigations from which he drew just as original conclusions. One of the best of the tales told concerning him is in reference to an investigation carried out with great thoroughness by him in the study of the effects of tobacco. He did it by collecting his data from the tombstones and from survivors concerning the oldest men in the neighborhood. "The list contained the names of 67 men from 73 to 93 years of age; average age 78 and a fraction. After patient inquiry never having received a guess as evidence, I arrived at the following result, viz.: Smokers or chewers, 54; non-consumers of tobacco, 9; doubtful, 4; total, 67. How much longer these men might have lived without tobacco, it is impossible to determine."

Dr. Israel Hildreth held the confidence and admiration of a widely scattered community. He was not only a skilled physician, but a speaker of note and public-spirited citizen. A student all his life, he was an authority on many subjects other than medicine, particularly on political matters and literature. He, like several of the few early physicians of this part of Middlesex, was a native of Dracut, born February 28, 1791, beginning his practice in his natal town in 1815. His medical education was secured in the offices of Dr. Thomas of Tyngsborough and Dr. Wyman of Chelmsford, together with a full course of lectures in Boston. He died April 6, 1859.

James Orme Green, mentioned as one of the three who represented Lowell at the first meeting of the Northern Middlesex Medical Society, was born in Malden, May 14, 1790, and died December 23, 1885, at the

ripe age of eighty-six. He received his degree of Doctor of Medicine from Harvard in 1822, March 10, coming to what was soon to be Lowell in April of the same year, continuing as an active physician for nearly sixty-four years. He was an ideal doctor, one of the most popular the city ever had. His whole life interest was in his profession, although he took the time to serve in a number of official capacities, and was prominent in many of the phases of the life of the city which he saw grow before his eyes from a country village into a large industrial center. A councillor of the Massachusetts Medical Society, he delivered the annual address in 1846, which, with a large number of papers, have been published.

Elisha Huntingdon, M.D., born April 9, 1796, like Dr. Green, was a pioneer member of the Middlesex Medical Society. A graduate of Dartmouth, 1815, and of Yale Medical School, 1823, he came to East Chelmsford (Lowell) in 1824, and for a period of more than forty years was one of the most active men in Lowell. Although never neglecting his duties as a physician, he had most of the honors possible to the city heaped upon him. He was first a member of the town school board, and then on the city board after 1836. Dr. Huntingdon was elected mayor in 1840, and reëlected in 1840-41-44-45-52-55-56 and 58. For three years he served as alderman. In 1852 the honor was voted to him as Lieutenant-Governor, but he declined to stand for the office the next year. He was president of the district medical society in 1848-49; also president of the State Society in 1855-56. These are but a few of the many honors conferred upon him. He died at Manchester, New Hampshire, January 2, 1885.

Elisha Bartlett, the other member of the triumvirate of the first Middlesex Medical Society, was born at Smithfield, Rhode Island, October 6, 1804, dying at his natal home, July 18, 1855. He was a graduate of the Medical School of Brown University, class of 1826, and after a year abroad settled down in Lowell to practice. Like Dr. Huntingdon, he was often singled out for honors, and like that same physician, was mayor of Lowell, 1837, the second year after the chartering of the city. He was a speaker of parts, a forceful writer, and later a noted lecturer on medical subjects. Dr. Bartlett held professorships as follows: Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, 1841; University of Maryland, 1844; again in Lexington, 1846; Louisville, 1849; University of New York, 1850. Until his death he held the chair of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence in the College of Physicians, New York.

Dr. Harlan Pillsbury, a native of New Hampshire, born November 30, 1797, held the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Dartmouth, Doctor of Medicine, from the same institution, 1826. He became a specialist in the diseases of women and children after his coming to Lowell in

1827; took an active part in municipal affairs; became president of the Merchants' National Bank. Removing to Billerica he attempted to retire as an active physician in 1874, but had too profound an experience and knowledge to not be sought by his fellow-practitioners.

John Dale Pillsbury, M.D., son of Dr. John and Dorothy (Ordway) Pillsbury, born at Tewksbury, Massachusetts, April 16, 1805, was a school teacher at first, but following in his father's footsteps studied medicine, receiving his degree from Bowdoin in 1830. He entered the office of Dr. William Graves at Lowell, setting up for himself in 1832, and spending the next twenty years in honored practice. He was a member of the school board in 1835-37, and the first secretary of the Middlesex Medical Asociation, many of his contributions to the meetings being received with great acclaim. Moving to Rochester in 1854, he died after a short illness the next year.

Henry Kittredge, M.D., a member of a family who gave many of its folk to the medical profession, was born at Lowell, January 3, 1787. Three generations preceding him were interested in medicine, and several of his uncles also. He settled at Tewksbury, beginning the practice of his profession which he had learned in his father's home, and continuing for more than four decades. He died December 18, 1847.

There were, of course, many more physicians who were practicing in the early days of Lowell and are deserving of mention. But after all they were few, proportionately, as compared with the numbers who settled in the city soon after its attainment of this estate. It was the first city to receive a charter in the county, and the fourth in the State. Naturally, with its large population, it was favored by many entering upon the practice of medicine, and many of the profession became noted, particularly during the Civil War period.

Homœopathy also had its rise about the time of the incorporation of the city, Samuel Gregg introducing it in Middlesex County at Medford in 1838.

Hiram Parker, born at Kittery, Maine, in 1809, was perhaps one of the first to practice homœopathy in northern Middlesex. He had been educated in medicine in Philadelphia, having studied there after his graduation from Dartmouth College in 1833. Arriving in Lowell the next year he set up as an allopathic physician, but later became an advocate of the newer school of medicine. He was partially paralyzed for a number of years before his death in May 2, 1877.

Henry Geist, M.D., is usually spoken of as the first regular homœopathic doctor in Lowell. A native of Germany, born in 1805, after practicing in Allentown and Boston, he came to Lowell in 1843 but returned to Boston two years later.

Dr. Rufus Shackleford succeeding Henry Geist, remained in the city

for three or four years, being the only homœopathic physician in Lowell during that time.

Daniel Holt, born in Hampton, Connecticut, July 2, 1810, was the first regularly taught homœopathist to become firmly established in northern Middlesex. A graduate of the New Haven Medical School, winning the highest honors of his class, 1835, he practiced in Glastonbury, Connecticut, for ten years. The year 1844 was spent in New Haven perfecting himself in his profession, during which time he adopted homœopathy. In the autumn of 1845 he settled in Lowell, and was afforded by the dysentery epidemics of 1847-49 a chance to demonstrate the effectiveness of the new school of medicine. Dr. Holt was an original member of the Massachusetts Institute of Homœopathy, as well as of the Massachusetts Medical and Homœopathic Medical Societies. His death occurred in 1883.

Edward Brown Holt, the son of Dr. Daniel Holt, was born at Glastonbury, Connecticut, October 3, 1843. He enlisted in the Sixth Regiment in 1862, and upon his return to Lowell began his studies which led to his taking up the medical profession. It was not until after his graduation from the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia that he engaged in practice although he had graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1868. He moved to Brookline in 1878, but later returned to Lowell. Meanwhile he had been a professor in the Boston Medical School.

Dr. Edmund H. Packer, without whom no record of the notable homœopathists in Middlesex County would be complete, was born in Newark, Vermont, the son of a physician, J. Q. A. Packer. He was fitted for college by his uncle, a minister, also a physician, David Packer. Dr. Edmund served in the Civil War until the surrender of Lee; then entered the office of his uncle, matriculated at Hahnemann at Philadelphia, receiving his degree in 1867. In 1871, after some time in practice at Lowell, he took post graduate work at his *alma mater*. His years in Lowell were very successful, and he became one of the leading doctors.

Eben K. Sanborn, born January 24, 1828, was one of the several physicians of Lowell who distinguished themselves in the Civil War. He became the surgeon of the Thirty-first Massachusetts Regiment at the urgent request of General Butler, but died physically exhausted on Ship Island in 1862.

Dr. James G. Bradt, holding a degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, 1858, served with the Twenty-sixth Regiment. He attained a great reputation for his operations, but did not survive the war period, dying in 1868 when only thirty-one.

Daniel P. Gage, a graduate of the Harvard Medical School, 1855, also

entered the Union Army as assistant-surgeon. After saving many he lost his own life through an infected scratch in 1877.

Lorenzo S. Fox, Harvard Medical School, 1863, served in the Civil War until its close, settling thereafter in Lowell. His reputation as a surgeon was high. He died in 1891.

Dr. Charles Fox, son of the above, after long study passed on in 1898 before any extended use of his teaching.

Walter Burnham, born in 1808, became one of the leading physicians in Lowell, and later had a reputation as a surgeon throughout New England. He was a pioneer in ovariotomy, performing more than three hundred ovarian operations. It is said that no fewer than twelve physicians studied in the office of Dr. Burnham.

Dr. Cyrus M. Fisk was a surgeon in the service of the United States during the Rebellion, not coming to Lowell until 1872 to go in partnership of Dr. Savory. He died in 1895.

Gilman Kimball, M.D., was, like Dr. Burnham, a pioneer in ovariotomy and noted throughout the United States for his daring surgery. He was the first American surgeon to remove a uterus, an operation he repeated a dozen times. Outside of gynecology, the doctor performed many unusual pieces of surgery. Dr. Kimball was born December 4, 1804; received his medical degree in 1826 from Dartmouth, practiced in Lowell for sixty years. His death occurred July 27, 1892.

A list of Lowell physicians of recent years, or even of those who settled in the city after the Civil War would of necessity be very lengthy, neither are their names and records accessible. Biographical sketches of some of the living practitioners in the city are to be found in the biographical section of this history.

**Cambridge's Part in Medicine**—Cambridge is the leader of the county in medicine, not only because of its numerical size, but because of its location and character. It was probably the first to have a resident physician, since one John Pratt came from England in 1628 under an agreement with the company which was colonizing Massachusetts Bay, and about 1630 settled in Cambridge. He is said to have been the first physician in the whole Colony recognized as a "Doctor of Physic." As already related, he came highly recommended, and it was agreed that he was to have forty pounds allowed him for his first year's salary, which was also to include the cost of his outfit. If he stayed three years, transportation was guaranteed for his wife and child, his salary to be twenty pounds annually for the last two years; a house was to be built for him and a hundred acres of land allotted to him. Pratt stayed well beyond his contract time but seems to have gotten in disgrace with the authorities by writing a letter that told the truth about the new land,

instead of chiming in with the glowing accounts which were constantly sent back to the home land in order to induce the further immigration of its people to the Colony around the Bay. Upon being called to account by the powers that were, he wrote a long explanatory and apologetic letter that secured his pardon, but it is to be feared that his mind was unchanged and that he thought much of the Bay country was not such a paradise that some would picture it. In 1646 he started back to England but, together with his wife, was wrecked and drowned near the coast of Spain. As summed up in Savage's "Winthrop," "This man was above sixty years of age, an experienced surgeon, who lived in New England many years, and was of the First Church of Cambridge, in Mr. Hooker's time, and had a good practice and wanted nothing. But he had been long discontented, because his employment was not as profitable to him as he desired, and it is likely that he feared lest he should fall in want in his old age, and therefore he would needs go back to England; for the surgeons were in great request there, occasioned by the war; but God took him away childless."

Most of the educated leaders practiced or knew medicine, that is the medicine of that day. Winthrop, for example, would have been favorably remembered as a physician, had not his services as governor of Massachusetts overshadowed his medical services. Giles Firman is mentioned by Eliot, Apostle to the Indians, as having and reading the only "Anatomy" in this country, so he may be thought of as the first lecturer on medicine in the Colony, possibly in America. Firman had studied in the English University of Cambridge, and later returned to his native country and became a minister, although he continued the practice of medicine. Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard, as well as Leonard Hoar, his successor, were both graduates in medicine of Cambridge. John Rogers, the fifth president of Harvard, was also a physician, as a number of the leaders of that school have been since. Elisha Cooke, prominent as both physician and politician, was a graduate in the class of 1657. He was probably the first native of Cambridge to have studied medicine.

But graduated physicians in the later day were exceedingly rare, particularly during the first century of settlement. In 1721 it is written that the only doctor in Boston regularly schooled was Dr. William Douglas. It is not surprising that the various plagues that troubled the people at various times, were so devastating in their results. The smallpox prevailing in 1721 seems to have found nearly six thousand victims (5,888) of whom 844 had died, 411 passing away in the single month of October. How Cambridge fared in this plague we do not know, but in 1730 it prevailed so greatly in the village that college work was stopped, as it was again in 1752. In 1740 a "throat distemper" at-

tacked the Cantabridgians, which is thought to have been a form of the "influenza" which has reappeared so many times since. Evidently the epidemic at that early day was serious in its effects; for one thing, it prevented the holding of the graduation exercises of the College on their usual day, bringing about their postponement until "the expiration of the vacation."

The Revolutionary period marks the greatest advance made in the medical progress of Cambridge. In 1775, more than eight thousand troops were quartered in the village. Hospitals were established, the larger homes being used for this purpose. Some of these old houses, mostly on or near Brattle Street, are still in existence, perhaps the most used one being the home of the Brattles from whom the street derives its name. The General Joseph Warren of history, whose death on Bunker Hill brought mourning to Cambridge, was better known at that time as Doctor Warren, and it is related that he spent the hours previous to the battle in the practice of his profession.

Mention has been made of the Medical Department of Harvard, and the Massachusetts Medical Society, both of which may be said to have grown out of the events, medical, of the Revolution. Money had been bequeathed by Dr. Ezekial Hersey and others as early as 1770 for the founding of a school of medicine at Harvard. It was not until 1782 that such a school was formally opened. Dr. John Warren, while surgeon of a military hospital, had begun giving lectures on anatomy, 1780. These lectures were attended by students of the University, and at the request of the authorities of the University, Warren outlined the plan on which the Medical School was established, and became the first Professor of Anatomy. Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse received the appointment as Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic, and Dr. Aaron Dexter as Professor of Chemistry. Dr. Waterhouse was soon to become famous for the introduction of vaccination in America, Dr. Jenner having communicated the new treatment to him in 1799. George Holmes Hall and John Fleet, the first graduates of the Medical School, 1788, were all but deprived of their degrees through the jealousy of the physicians of that time, and the School received little encouragement from the class, who, seemingly, should have been its main support. For convenience and a broader field, the Medical School was moved to Boston in 1810, and with it went the center of medical interest which might have remained in Cambridge.

For the next half century there seems to have been no local organization of the physicians of Cambridge, the Massachusetts Medical Society, with headquarters across the Charles in Boston, satisfying the fraternal needs of the profession. In 1867 the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society was formed, the members of which met together each month.

This Society was responsible for the public dispensary in which free treatment was given to the poor. The same organization divided the city into districts and appointed a physician over each. Probably credit should be given it for the establishment of the Cambridge Hospital, although this dates from the same year, 1867, of the formation of the Society. It was only a small affair, which closed its doors several times before being placed on a solid footing.

It was a Miss Emily E. Parsons who first opened the hospital, and it was upon her request that it was incorporated in 1871. It, for lack of public interest and support, ceased to function the next year. In 1873, $10,000 was received from the estate of Isaac Fay, and, during the next decade, nearly $100,000 was received in gifts and bequests. In 1883, land was purchased between Auburn Street and the Charles River, upon which the first buildings were erected. By 1886 the hospital was finished and opened for patients.

The members of the medical fraternity who were born in Cambridge or have practiced there are very many. An attempt to give sketches of the lives of even the more prominent would extend this chapter to unreasonable lengths for a single part of a general history. Even a list of names would be impossible to gather in other than a very incomplete form. Dr. Henry O. Marcy, in 1886, gave a list of those physicians who were members of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He acknowledges that it does not more than touch the actual numbers of those who had been residents or practitioners, still the list mentions more than a hundred. At the present date there are nearly that number of doctors resident in Cambridge.

Dr. Marcy has singled out a few of the older physicians for more extended mention, his sketches of whose careers may be found in his story of the Medical Fraternity of Cambridge. He begins with William Kneeland, M.M.S.S., who was born in Boston in 1732 and was graduated from Harvard College in 1754, with the highest honors. He died in 1788.

James P. Chaplin, a native of Groton, a pupil of Dr. Warren, was one of the early graduates of Harvard Medical School, and practiced in Cambridgeport for twenty-three years. Perhaps his most notable achievement was his home for the insane, in the care of whom he used many ideas that are the basis of modern treatment. His death occurred in 1824.

Benjamin Waterhouse, already mentioned, and Edward Wyer, are with William Kneeland, the only three of the Cambridge physicians who were members of the State Society before 1800. Timothy Lindall Jennison, William Gammage, the "well beloved," James Chaplin, Samuel

Manning, who settled in Cambridge in 1820, John Williams, Timothy Wellington, were all Fellows of the Medical Society before the War of 1812.

John Appleton, M.D., born in 1809, was one of the antiquarians and genealogists as well as successful physicians of Cambridge. Charles Foster Chaplin, born 1800, was another of those who combined a love and skill in the fine arts with his medical ability. Francis Dana, son of the famous Francis Dana, and brother of the author, was a student at Harvard, 1827, and a graduate of the Medical School, 1831. He practiced in Cambridge until the time of his death in 1872.

Jeffries Wyman, a native of Chelmsford, 1814, was the son of the first physician at the McLean Hospital for the Insane, Dr. Rufus Wyman. His medical degree was received from Harvard, 1837, and his later career was closely joined with lecturing and study of his favorite subject, human and comparative anatomy. He traveled all over the world in the pursuit of knowledge, and held a number of professorships, including the Hersey Professorship of Anatomy at Harvard. He began what is now the Museum of Comparative Anatomy. In 1866, when George Peabody of London, gave a large sum for the founding of an archæological and ethnological museum, Dr. Wyman became curator. He was president of the Boston Society of Natural History from 1856 to 1870, and, in 1857, of the American Association for the Promotion of Science. His death took place in 1874.

Merril Wyman, Harvard, 1833, Medical Department, 1837, and William Williamson Wellington, a native of Arlington, a graduate of Harvard Medical School, 1838, were both physicians of more than fifty years practice in Cambridge. In 1847, Dr. Wellington assisted at the first operation performed at the Massachusetts Hospital upon a patient under the influence of ether. "When Dr. Wellington began to work of his profession in Cambridgeport, it was a borough of only about 3,000 inhabitants, with only one other physician. Dr. Wyman settled in Cambridge one year earlier than Wellington, and has also seen the town grow into a city of 70,000."

The Cambridge of Civil War times contributed heavily of its rather few physicians to the service of the Union Armies. Of these were: Anson P. Hooker, born in Cambridge in 1832. A graduate of Harvard, 1851, he was commissioned as the surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers in 1861, and served with distinction in the Department of the Gulf, until the disease contracted there compelled his resignation and eventually his death. Henry Sylvanus Plymton also lost his life from disease contracted while with the troops of the North. He was assistant surgeon, U. S. Army, 1862, and assistant surgeon, U. S. Navy, appointed in 1863. He died at Cambridge in 1863. William

Caldwell Flowers, upon his graduation from Harvard Medical Department in 1861, almost immediately entered the Union service as assistant surgeon and continued in army service until 1873. Albert Lane Norris, graduated from Harvard in 1865, was immediately commissioned as surgeon to the One Hundred and Fourteenth Infantry. He settled in Cambridge after his honorable discharge from the army, and became an authority on his specialty, obstetrics. Albert Fairbanks Holt, graduate of the Vermont School, 1860, heard the call for volunteers, and in 1861 joined the company raised by Captain J. P. Richardson, probably the first organized for the Civil War. He finished his medical career with the army as surgeon of the Thirtieth Massachusetts Volunteers in 1862 as a result of a wound. He later rose to the senior majorship of the First Texas Cavalry, Union men driven from their own State. He later became the surgeon-general of Massachusetts, was re-appointed several times; and was a member and officer in many societies, medical and other. Edward R. Cogswell, health officer of Cambridge, 1878-79, and for many years a practitioner in the city, left college to go with the Northern troops. Another was Edmund H. Stevens. Dr. Stevens did not complete his medical education until after the war, and did not settle in Cambridge until 1871.

Many others might be named of this war period including two of those who later became more than ordinarily prominent in the civic and intellectual life of Cambridge, Augustus Peck Clarke and Henry O. Marcy. Dr. Marcy, a native of Otis, Massachusetts, was a graduate of Harvard Medical Department, 1863. He was assistant surgeon of the Forty-third Massachusetts Volunteers, of the first regiment of colored troops, and Medical director of Florida in 1864. After the war he studied under specialists abroad, returning to take up his work in Cambridge. He was one of the first in this country to advocate the use of the Lister antiseptic and aseptic surgery. During his long life he was a valued contributor to the medical literature of the day, his publications forming many volumes. Dr. Peck left Harvard to enter the Northern army as assistant-surgeon to the Sixth New York Cavalry. After many exciting engagements, in one of which he was captured by the enemy, he became, successively, surgeon of his troops; surgeon-in-chief to the Second Brigade of the Army of the Potomac; chief medical officer of Sheridan's brigade; and finally surgeon-in-chief to the entire First Division of the U. S. Cavalry. The doctor had a part in some eighty-two battles and engagements. Establishing himself in Cambridge he quickly took a place among the influential residents of the city.

Names might be multiplied, not only in the medical history of the largest cities in the county, but even more so in the county-at-large. Lowell and Cambridge have been given space because of their size and

importance as centers of population in Middlesex. When it is realized that there are nearly seven hundred members of the Medical Society resident in the county, and probably a total of between two and three thousand physicians in Middlesex, even the listing of their names would be a lengthy task, and one of little value to the reader of this general history of the County. In the stories of the various towns, accounts may be found of many physicians who have been influential in the development of their home localities, or by means of their profession have brought honor to their home towns. In the biographical section of this work may be found sketches of many of the prominent physicians of today.

**District Nursing Associations**—Somewhat allied to the medical profession, and certainly one of the most practical of charities, are the District Nursing Associations. The most of these organizations date from the present century, since there were only twenty-one such bodies in the United States as late as 1890. The order was founded in Liverpool, England, in 1859 by William Rathbone, and spread rather slowly throughout Great Britain. In 1877 the New York City Mission organized a committee which should have in charge the supplying of trained nurses to the sick poor, or persons of small means. This was probably the first District Nursing Association in the United States. It was a number of years before Massachusetts followed the example of the larger city, and in Middlesex County, there were only five established before 1900. To Groton does the honor go for forming its Visiting Nursing Association in 1897 the pioneer group of the county. Newton, a year later, organized a similar association; and in 1899 were formed the Natick District Visiting Nursing Association, The Malden Industrial Aid Association, and the Winchester Visiting Nursing Association.

Others organized in the towns of Middlesex during the present century with, in most cases, the date of their establishment are:

Arlington Visiting Nursing Association, 1904; Cambridge Board of Health School Nursing Association, 1907; Cambridge Anti-tuberculous Association, 1907; Cambridge Visiting Nursing Association, 1904; Framingham District Nursing Association, 1901; Hudson District Nursing Association, 1908; Lincoln Ladies' Aid Society; Lowell, Middlesex Woman's Club Visiting Nursing Department, 1918; Marlboro, Woman's Club, 1906; Medford Visiting Nursing Association, 1900; Melrose Hospital Visiting Nursing Department, 1905; Pepperell, Woman's Club Nursing Committee, 1908; Somerville, Visiting Nursing Association, 1906; Waltham, American Waltham Watch Company, 1907, and the Waltham District Nursing Association, 1900; Watertown Society for the relief of the Sick and Poor, 1912 and the Watertown District Nursing Association; Weston Ladies' Aid Society; Woburn Visiting Nursing Association, 1904.

# CHAPTER XVIII

## BANKS AND BANKING.

There is no country in the world where national finance has been so quickly changed and violently effected by political environment and current economic experience as the United States. This is partly due to the theoretical ideas of the early politicians; the complete revulsion against anything European after the break with the mother country in 1776, when anything that was foreign must, because of that fact, be wrong; perhaps also to the inevitable tendency to tinker with everything so characteristic of the American; the newness and rapid and tremendous expansion of our economical life; and the bigness of the scale on which a great country developed its resources. Into the national aspects of banking this chapter cannot go except as the national history is a repetition of the methods and experience of the local settlements. The colonies made their experiments, mostly extremely crude, to handle their problems of finance. The Massachusetts Colony was no exception. Abundant issue of paper money was one of the mistakes they had to make, every new country and most of the old countries have to make the like mistake. The late World War furnished many examples of this. In Massachusetts this emission of paper did not work so badly at first, when transactions were small and the amounts concerned were not beyond the power of individuals to handle. But in sudden stress, such as the Revolution, there was a prompt breakdown; financial disaster resulted.

**Early Financial Conditions**—The economic life of Middlesex in the days of its founding, when so many of the first settlements were within its borders, was exceedingly simple. It was a farming community, with tillage and pasture as its main resource, timber being of little value at first. The household was its own factory, dependent for little from the outside. Later, the forests became the source of exports; boards, shingles, lumber, hoops and the like were sent to the West Indies in exchange for sugar and rum. The most of the imports were used at home, but with the increase of prosperity there was a demand for English supplies, and in addition to the farm and forest products, the imported sugar and molasses were converted into rum and shipped to the parent country. Middlesex also made some of the ships which carried these exports. As money and export transactions increased in number and size, a medium of exchange was required. By the middle of the eighteenth cen-

tury the number of people in the colonies had increased to about a million, of which New England had a third. The annual value of the imports was about $900,000, which was greatly increased during the French and Indian War. The exports were less, and as the first comers to this country brought little specie with them, this small amount was drained from the country to make up the trade balance. Among themselves, the colonists used almost anything for a medium of exchange. The gold and silver mines that the backers of the colony expected to find in the hills of Eastern Massachusetts, failed to materialize, so the only way to get metal was from England or other European countries. Barter was resorted to at first, then certain staple articles were declared by law to be legal tender. Corn, cattle, peltry and furs were monetary media in New England. A student of Harvard College, who later became President, paid his bill for tuition with "an old cow." As the commodities used passed at a valuation above coin, it tended to keep specie out of circulation. Curiously enough Spanish and Portuguese rather than English coins worked their way into New England, principally in the silver dollar of eight seals, or "pieces of eight." Massachusetts was the only colony to establish a mint, issuing principally small silver pieces known as "pine-tree shillings" (1652). This mint was closed by the Crown in 1784.

The absence of circulating media, caused by the drain for the paying for exports, led to the endeavor to convert credit into wealth, and several plans were made for the establishment of banks, for the issuing of currency based on deposits of the pledge of securities. Massachusetts in 1690 made an issue of £7,000 of bills of credit, soon increased to £40,000 in order to pay the soldiery engaged in the expedition against Louisburg, on the expectation that a victory would bring spoils enough to redeem the bills, which expectation failed to materialize. The text of one of these Massachusetts notes was as follows: "This indented bill of ten shillings, due from the Massachusetts Colony to the Possessor, shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer, and Receivers subordinate to him in all publick payments, and for any stock at any time in the Treasury. Boston in New England, December the tenth, 1690. By order of the General Court."

These early emissions were at first payable in one year or on demand, but later issues were extended so that by 1711 it was made six years, and each recurring issue extended the time even further, so that confidence was lost in the paper, and depreciation set in. Loan bills were another of the schemes for the creation of currency. These were bills put out on real estate loans, backed by property as security and drew five per cent interest. This began in 1711, and was repeated in 1716, 1721 and 1728 to a total amount of £260,000, and circulated along with

the ordinary bills of credit. A great deal of ingenuity was used in the variations of the forms of these different bills issued, but all were the same in leading to a bad end.

A third kind of paper money was that issued by "loan banks." These are not to be confused with modern lending banks, for the banking institutions of all lands were crude affairs as measured by modern standards. Even England had little experience in banking, and was behind the Massachusetts Colony in the matter of paper money. The Bank of England was not established until 1695, and the founder, William Patterson, is said to have watched the various experiments of New England with great interest. A bank today is simply a convenient institution for receiving deposits, making discounts, and negotiating drafts. The Colonial Bank was, as Francis A. Walker, puts it, "simply a batch of paper money." The issuers of this money had no permanent place of business, special resources, or any corporate existence. Little is known of the history of these "loan banks" since the issue of State notes in 1690 and later checked their growth.

There were a number of private banks proposed in the early part of the eighteenth century, one in 1714 being typical. This planned "for a partnership to emit bills on security, to be supplemented by obtaining the signatures of citizens to an agreement to receive such bills in trade." But this private concern was frowned upon and the establishment of public banks based on real estate security was substituted. But insufficient security was usually taken and another failure added to the colonial monetary affairs. The most notable private banking scheme in Massachusetts was that of 1740, when a land security bank was started. Subscriptions to the amount of £150,000 were sought; that is, people were asked to borrow money from the Land Bank in bills of the bank, they to pay 40 shillings on each £1,000 for the purpose of organization. "Each subscriber was to furnish satisfactory mortgage security for his loan, on which he was to pay interest at the rate of 3 percent per annum, the principal to be paid in twenty annual instalments of 5 percent each. These payments to be made in the notes of the company, or in hemp, flax, iron, and other enumerated commodities." There was no agreement to redeem the notes nor was there any real capital behind the bank. As Mr. Davis summarizes the situation, "It was possible for the mortgage loans to be paid off entirely in commodities, thus leaving the notes afloat without any other security than that afforded by the partnership." The Silver Bank, on much the same lines, was started at this time. In 1740 there was a rumor that a bank was to be formed in Middlesex County, that was going to be a marked improvement on these unsatisfactory banks, but it seems to have been nothing more than a rumor. In 1741, a Parliamentary act, known as

the Bubble Act enacted in 1720 in the days of John Law, of the Mississippi Bubble fame, was enforced on the Colony and the banks came to a sudden end. Many of the notes were redeemed, but for more than a quarter century the aftermath troubled both government and people.

By 1740, the issues of paper money in Massachusetts had so depreciated its value that it was only worth one quarter of its face; and only ten years later it had depreciated nearly nine-tenths. From 1702 to 1750, Massachusetts had emitted bills to the amount of £4,634,700 of which at the latter time nearly a half was outstanding. The English Parliament finally closed down on the further issue of any legal tender bills by the New England Colonies (1751). Massachusetts retired her currency at a rate of 7½ to 1, soon after. But as Franklin told England in 1766, one of the reasons for the ill feeling in America towards her authority was the prohibition of paper money, and this with the schemes of taxation later put in force, led to the break between the twain.

**Money Depreciation**—The financial history of the Colonies contains nothing that would lead one to expect any thoughtful monetary measure, when Revolution set the pace. Added to this was the base of the Revolution, the objection to taxation. When war came, the Colonies were without money, or the means of getting it, and such experience as they had tended to the making of flat currency. Revenue had to be secured. The Colonies were fairly well united in anything that was aimed at their common enemy, but delegate to a set of delegates the right to tax they would not, so the means of raising money had to be as revolutionary as their efforts against England. There was, no doubt, a vague recognition that the individual Colonies had to stand behind any fiscal system created in the time of need, but the monetary system of the Colonies as a whole, if it ever could be said to have had one, was snowed under with repeated issues of paper money. The Battle of Bunker Hill was scarcely over than authority was given for the issue of $2,000,000, June 22, 1775, based on the credit of the states, of which the most important was Massachusetts. Between that date and November 29, 1779, there were more than forty emissions amounting to a total of $241,552,780, at which date Congress voted that no more than $200,000,000 should be in circulation. In addition, States had issued $209,524,776, of which the Commonwealth, fortunately, had only a limited amount. Many ways were devised to redeem this paper, none of which could be called successful. With no power of taxation, Congress could not even pledge redemption, urging the states to take this burden upon themselves, which they could not do since they had already overburdened themselves.

The depreciation which was inevitable, of the tremendous issues of

paper, came slowly at first. But when the amount put out passed $20,000,000, depreciation received an impetus towards the bottom that went on with increasing speed until in 1780 it had reached forty to one, on which basis Congress attempted to redeem it, or at least to have it accepted on that basis. This move did not even retard the fall in value, and by the end of the year, 100 to 1 was the ratio, which five months later had fallen to 1,000 to 1. One writer, Breck, says: "The annihilation was so complete, that barber shops in jest papered their shops with bills, sailors had suits of clothes made of their pay." The official fate of Continental currency was almost as inglorious. Under the Refunding Act of 1790, older notes were accepted at the rate of 100 to one but only about six million were turned in at this rate, the remainder having been lost, no doubt. The effect of the collapse in notes was no humorous incident in the life of many a Middlesex farmer, for its effect on the county was utterly disrupting. Wealthy farmers were ruined, their belongings often being seized by the sheriff and sold, the unfortunate owner being put in the debtors' jail. The State had to be supported, and it had no use for the money it had issued. The sad state of affairs was the leading cause of Shays' Rebellion of 1786-87. Even the founding of the National Bank by Alexander Hamilton, one of the great bankers of his age, and the assumption of the state debts by the nation bettered matters but slowly.

The First United States Bank was founded at Philadelphia, December 12, 1791, with branch offices in the few larger cities, of which Boston was one, the second bank in Massachusetts. The United States bank never stood well in the eyes of the politicians in Congress, for it was feared as an instrument of the dominant party to keep itself in power. The embargo acts preceding the War of 1812 weakened the structure of the bank, which was already being considered nothing but an undemocratic political institution which had outlived its usefulness. In 1811, this first bank of the Nation came to an end. Meanwhile there had grown up a system of State banks which exceeded in wealth that of the government. In 1790 there were only three of these institutions; ten years later there were twenty-eight with a capital of $21,300,000; in 1811, 88 with a capital of $42,600,000. Among these State banks we do not find the original banking institutions of Middlesex County, these all having a later origin.

**The First Bank**—The first bank chartered in Middlesex County seems to have been the Cambridge Bank of that town, founded in March, 1826. The county had increased its wealth since the end of the Revolution, but Boston had been, and still was, the place where its banking was done. The Suffolk Bank of Boston seems to have been the favored institution.

Although the county had been settled for nearly three centuries, it was two before it had a regular bank, and there is no other institution whose years equal even one century.

The Cambridge Bank was formed with a capital of $100,000, with the following directors, James P. Chaplin, Samuel P. P. Fay, Newall Bent, William Fisk, Levi Farwell, William Hilliard, Charles Everett, Isaiah Bangs and John Trowbridge. Judge Fay declined the honor and Professor Asahel Stearns was elected to fill his place. Most of these names are well known in the annals of Cambridge. A brick store owned by Luke Hemmenway, now No. 587 Main Street, Cambridgeport, was purchased for $4,000, and fitted up as a banking room, where the bank remained until 1873.

The bank opened for business in June, curiously enough on the same day that an hourly stage service to Boston was inaugurated from Cambridge. Two very great items these were in the list of the necessities of a comfortable busy life. Dr. James Prescott Chaplin was the first President, remaining in office until his death in 1828, when Levi Farwell was chosen. Deacon Farwell remained as the head until he resigned to become the head of the Charles River Bank, of which he was the first President (1832). Dr. Chaplin was one of the important men of the town, and through his strong personality gave the first bank a good start. In fact the list of its presidents is one sequence of capable men who held high standing in Cambridgeport. Following Chaplin and Farwell were: Samuel P. P. Fay, Thomas Whittemore, Benjamin Tilton, Lucius Paige, Robert Douglas, Asa P. Morse.

The bank, after weathering the many financial gales and destructive storms that wrecked so many institutions of that period, was reorganized in even stronger form in 1865. On July 19, 1904, incorporation as the Central Trust Company was secured and while the capital has been increased to $500,000, deposits, savings and bank were (in 1924) of the former $5,285,713 and of the latter $2,697,609. At the close of that same year it absorbed the Guaranty Trust Company.

Cambridge had another bank of the early days whose story is of interest because of the side light it throws on the political aspects of banking in the early third of the nineteenth century. This was the Middlesex Bank, organized in 1832, with William Parmenter as President and William Whitney as Cashier. The affairs of the bank were run honestly and well, and its rather prompt failure was not caused by anything dishonorable or unskillful. There was no loss except to the stockholders, who lost at the winding up of its business, fifty-eight percent of their investment. The fault lay principally in the fact that it was one of the "pet banks" of the day, this being the name given to such institutions as were made the depositaries of National funds at

the time, 1833, that President Jackson was trying to close the United States Bank. About nine millions were taken from the one National Bank and sent to pet banks all over the country, some of which were established simply to be recipients of these funds. The United States Bank had been refounded in 1816, to slow up the enormous issue of paper money by state banks. So many of these "shin plasters" were turned out by local banks without backing, that "hard money," or specie payment ceased almost. The establishment of the United States Bank, April 3, 1816, stabilized the financial situation somewhat and certainly curbed the farther issue of local notes, but it also brought about the failure of all of the State banks, and prevented the incorporation of more new ones. This won for itself not the gratitude of the people but the enmity of politicians who began to work for the elimination of this enemy of "easy money." President Jackson was one of the biggest guns turned on the national bank, and it was his order to take the funds of the United States Bank and give them over into the keeping of certain picked institutions that led to the founding of the Middlesex Bank of Cambridge and a hundred others. The State bank now came to its own again. The "shin plaster" floated down on the people in great showers. In 1830, the State banks had $66,000,000 in circulation; in 1834, more than $100,000,000; in 1837, there were 634 State banks in the country, aggregating a capital of $291,000,000, against which was issued $149,000,000 of notes, $525,000,000 of loans and discounts, while the total deposits were only about $127,000,000. Meanwhile, all the coin minted since the founding of the United States only amounted to $50,000,000, the most of which had been sent abroad in payment of trade balances.

With all these banks, and currency galore which could be secured on the flimsiest of security, there started one of the boom periods which has characterized the progress and failures of this country. Prices reached extreme levels, real estate reached extreme heights, building operations multiplied all over the land, all manner of undertakings both great and small were begun. There never had been such prosperity; it shone, in all the glorious iridescence of a bubble. It was, however, just a bubble, and needed but a pin-prick to make it burst. This little pin thrust was given by the same Jackson who had made the blowing of the bubble possible by his enmity against the United States Bank. In 1836, he issued an order that all payments for public lands must be made in specie, and in that same year the Nation's bank ceased to function. The boom collapsed. By May of 1737 all the large banks of the country has suspended specie payment, and it is said that there was no bank in the United States that did not suspend specie payment at some time during that year.

Middlesex County suffered with the Nation in the "hard times" of 1837, although fortunately it had not been bitten by the state bank idea, there only being a few banks in the whole of Middlesex. The people of Cambridge were also fortunate in the fact that the Middlesex Bank was able to redeem its outstanding notes in circulation, and to pay in full its depositors.

**The Second Bank**—The second earliest established bank in the county was the Lowell Bank founded March 11, 1823, just two years almost to the day, after the establishment of the Cambridge institution, and two years after Lowell had become a town. Possibly no place in the county made such a growth as did Lowell in the days after its incorporation, and it is not surprising that a bank should be one of its first needs, one promptly supplied. It retained the original organization until 1865 when it was reorganized and soon became known as the "Old Lowell Bank." This was another of the few survivors of the panic year of 1837, which, however, seems to have given but little set-back to the newly developed manufacturing town by the Merrimac. Mention of this bank as now organized will again be made.

The State Bank was the principal financing institution in the county until the Civil War, when the need for something that could be of more service to the nation-at-large led to the founding of National banks. The State Bank, however, was challenged for the supremacy within a few years after its inception by savings institutions. The State Bank performed a very necessary service to the business man, but was of little use to the man of limited means who wanted to save that which he had. The factory worker had only his room or his home, or his pocket in which he could keep his accumulations; places not merely unsafe, but also too easily accessible to himself to encourage habits of thrift. Neither had the average man any great confidence in local banks that were so easy to form and could fail with such great readiness. Nor was the average man pleased with the notion of lending his savings to an institution without any remuneration and which in turn charged him heavily, insisting upon a security well beyond the amount of a loan, before such a loan would be made.

To fill a very real need savings banks were started, usually by factories, or their heads, where funds would be received and interest paid on them. Thus began what was called, for a time, "The Poor Man's Bank," although those chartered by the State never chose such a title. The Savings Bank gradually overcame the lead held by the State Bank. The saving institutions now outnumber all regular banks in the State and county. There are 196 savings banks in the State, and 38 in the county, according to the State report of 1926. In the county this num-

ber is nearly that of the National banks and trust companies combined. The State Bank gradually disappeared; in Massachusetts there are no more, although many other states still have many of them. With the numerical superiority goes, also, a financial one in the sense that the total resources of the savings banks exceed those of either the National banks or trust companies individually.

**Lowell Banks**—Lowell, not the most populous of the cities of Middlesex County, has the distinction of having the largest number of savings banks with the largest amounts on deposit, and of having the oldest savings bank located here. There are seven savings institutions, the total number of depositors being 103,546, with assets of $60,957,330.52.

The City Institution for Savings of Lowell is known among thrift organizations as the pioneer in the county; in three years it will celebrate a full century of existence. Two years before the organization of this institution, the Merrimac Company started the practice of permitting their employees to leave part of their earnings with the firm, on which was allowed interest of 6%, payable semi-annually. A limit of $1,000 was placed on deposits, and interest ceased to be paid if the employee left the company. The plan had not legislative nor legal sanction and was discontinued when the superintendent of the Hamilton mills originated a better one.

"After one of the Hamilton mills was in operation," wrote Mr. Batchelder, "I found that those in our employ suffered such frequent loss of their money by having in their boarding houses no safe place to keep it, that I allowed them to deposit it with the company on interest, and opened book for the purpose, on the plan of a savings bank. After a time Mr. Nathan Appleton suggested that it might be doubtful whether our charter would authorize this: I accordingly prepared a petition to the legislature for the incorporation of a savings bank. On receiving the charter I notified a meeting, at my office, of the petitioners and any others who felt an interest in the subject, to take measures for the acceptance of the act of incorporation. According to my recollection there were only Mr. Colburn, Mr. Carney, Mr. Nichols, Mr. Beard and myself. It was suggested that if so little interest was felt in the matter, it was hardly worth while to organize; but Mr. Carney was willing to act as treasurer, and we concluded to appoint ourselves trustees and make the experiment. A few months after this the town of Lowell decided to build a town-house, and wanted to borrow the money for the purpose, which we decided to lend them. The sum, I think, was $17,000."

Such was the origin of the Lowell Institution for Savings which was incorporated in October, 1829. How conservative was the management may be inferred from the following by-laws of the bank: "The funds of the institution may be invested in loans on mortgages of real estate within this State, provided the whole amount loaned or mortgage shall not at any time exceed one-third of the whole funds of the institution... no loan shall be made for more than half of the value of the estate

pledged." Perhaps the early conservatism laid the foundation for its later success. It is now the third largest of the county savings banks with 28,981 depositors, with a total of $16,439,461.56 deposit.

Another rather unique feature of the management of the bank is that the treasurership has remained for nearly a century in the hands of one family. The first treasurer, J. G. Carney, served from 1830 to 1869, and of this model savings bank treasurer, Dr. J. O. Green wrote, after his death in 1869: "The record of forty years at the head of our oldest savings institution will not show a single dollar lost of the millions that have passed through Mr. Carney's hands, and not a figure requiring to be changed in nineteen ledgers of near 1,000 pages each."

The Lowell Institution for Savings was incorporated February 20, 1829. There were 35 corporators; 15 trustees were elected. The first president of the bank was Elisha Glidden, and the officials of the bank in 1923 were:

Frederic A. Fisher, president; Edward B. Carney, treasurer; James E. Gibson, assistant treasurer; Joseph L. Cushing, clerk. Trustees: J. C. Abbot, George Bowers, J. A. Cameron, E. B. Carney, J. L. Cushing, Harry Dunlap, H. N. Elliott, F. A. Fisher, Appleton Grannis, C. H. Hobson, J. A. Hunnewell, R. F. Marden, L. A. Olney, E. H. Scribner, R. P. White.

The City Institution for Savings was chartered April 12, 1837. There were 37 corporators, and 16 trustees were elected. The first president was Rev. Henry A. Miles, who, in 1853, was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel C. Eddy. In 1857 Dr. Nathan Allen was chosen president and remained in office twenty-two years, followed by the Hon. E. T. Greenhalge, who in turn was succeeded by Charles P. Conant, the present incumbent. The first treasurer, John A. Buttrick, held the position for twenty-eight years. The executives in 1923 were.

Charles P. Conant, president; Frank W. Hurd, treasurer; Lewis A. Putnam, assistant treasurer; John H. Murphy, clerk. Trustees: E. M. Abbott, Albert Bergeron, Frank Coburn, C. P. Conant, E. J. Gilmore, T. P. Hall, J. G. Hall, Leonard Huntress, F. W. Hurd, N. D. Keabbles, G. M. McCartney, E. G. Morrison, J. H. Murphy, Joseph Peabody, A. D. Sargent, George Stevens.

The Central Savings Bank was incorporated March 3, 1871. There were 48 incorporators, and 25 trustees were chosen. The first president of the bank was Oliver H. Moulton, who served over half a century. The first treasurer was J. N. Pierce. The officers in 1923 were:

Henry W. Barnes, president; Arthur J. Murkland, treasurer; Harold D. MacDonald, clerk. Trustees: H. W. Barnes, D. M. Cameron, E. G. Dumas, H. E. Fletcher, L. L. Fortin, W. E. Hall, H. H. Harris, G. L. Huntoon, H. A. King, J. E. Mamoureux, P. D. Marden, G. F. Martin,

A. J. Murkland, A. G. Pollard, H. G. Pollard, Amasa Pratt, M. H. Pratt, A. D. Prince, W. T. Sheppard, F. K. Stearns, P. F. Sullivan, L. T. Trull, E. H. Walker, H. L. Whiteley, F. N. Wier.

The Lowell Five Cent Savings Bank was incorporated April 12, 1854, with 43 corporators and 16 trustees. Its presidents have been Horatio Wood, 1854 to 1885; Sewall G. Mack and Austin K. Chadwick. The first treasurer was Artemas S. Tyler. The officials in 1923 were:

Austin K. Chadwick, president; Charles A. Richardson, treasurer; Edward F. Lamson, assistant treasurer; Arthur C. Spalding, clerk. Trustees: C. A. Abbott, C. E. Bartlett, A. K. Chadwick, T. T. Clark, W. B. Clark, J. A. Legare, G. S. Motley, Franklin Nourse, A. D. Parker, C. M. Runels, C. W. Russell, A. T. Safford, A. C. Spalding, S. H. Thompson, J. C. Wadleigh, H. H. Wilder.

The Mechanics Savings Bank was incorporated March 1, 1861. There were 40 corporators and 22 trustees were elected. Its presidents have been William A. Burke, 1861-67; Jeremiah Clark, and the present incumbent, Charles H. Clogston. Its first treasurer was John F. Rogers. The executives in 1923 were:

Charles H. Clogston, president; Julian B. Keyes, treasurer; Haven G. Hill, clerk. Trustees: E. N. Burke, C. H. Clogston, A. L. Eno, F. A. Flather, Frank Hanchett, A. E. Hatch, H. G. Hill, W. H. Hoyt, J. B. Keyes, A. D. Milliken, W. A. Mitchell, C. H. Nelson, N. G. Norcross, H. W. Owen, H. H. Parker, W. L. Parker, M. A. Rawlinson, J. J. Rogers, J. F. Sawyer, T. A. Stevens, J. F. Talbot, J. K. Whittier.

The Merrimac River Savings Bank was incorporated February 24, 1871. There were 28 corporators, and 16 trustees were chosen. The first president was J. G. Peabody, and G. W. Knowlton was elected the first treasurer. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

Nathan G. Lamson, president; Franklin E. Johnson, treasurer; James G. Hill, clerk. Trustees: B. F. Cady, Michael Corbett, C. M. Forrest, W. H. Fuller, F. S. Harvey, J. J. Harvey, F. H. Haynes, J. G. Hill, W. H. Howe, F. E. Johnson, J. H. Johnson, N. G. Lamson, E. I. Macphie, O. B. Ranlett, Charles Runels, H. C. Taft.

**Cambridge Banks**—The Cambridge Savings Bank was chartered April 2, 1834, the second oldest and the second largest savings bank in the county. There were fifty corporators and twenty-one trustees chosen. The first meeting was held November 24, 1834, and was organized by the choice of Joseph Story, president; Simon Greenleaf, Samuel King, Charles Everett, Sidney Willard, vice-presidents. On December 19, Judge Story declined serving as president, and Simon Greenleaf was chosen chairman in his place. James Hayward was chosen treasurer, and on January 5, 1835, Asahel Stearns was elected president by ballot, and was

the first acting president. The first loan made was $600 to the First Parish in Cambridge, March 3, 1835, and the second loan was to the First Baptist Society in Cambridge, April 1, 1835. The first report of the treasurer was July 23, 1835, and is recorded as follows: To amount of deposit, $6,351; deposits withdrawn, $445; expenses, $64.81; note of First Parish, $600; Baptist Society, $500; Charles River Bank stock, $816; deposit in Charles River Bank, $3,915.19. The present board of officers (1923) are:

Enoch Beane, president; Arthur H. Boardman, treasurer; Henry A. Nichols, assistant treasurer; Arthur E. Beane, clerk. Trustees: H. R. Bailey, A. E. Beane, Enoch Beane, A. H. Boardman, L. N. Brock, Robert Butterworth, J. S. Cassedy, F. W. Dallinger, W. B. Donham, H. W. Durant, Thomas Hadley, F. R. Jouett, E. F. McClennen, W. B. Munro, W. B. Reid, J. C. Runkle, G. E. Saunders, P. F. Soule, H. N. Stearns, C. A. Stover, Robert Walcott.

The Cambridgeport Savings Bank was incorporated February 22, 1853, the second savings bank to be located in Cambridge. Since this date two other banks have been established; both also being over half a century old. At the time of incorporation there were 53 corporators, sixteen trustees being elected. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

William W. Dallinger, president; John R. Giles, treasurer; William E. Burrage, clerk. Trustees: W. E. Burrage, W. W. Dallinger, J. A. Dow, J. F. Downey, W. H. Dunning, J. W. Fellows, Wellington Fillmore, J. R. Giles, A. M. Goodridge, L. M. Hastings, Charles James, W. F. Roaf, A. M. Robbins, H. H. Winslow, H. J. Winslow, J. W. Wood.

The East Cambridge Savings Bank originated as The East Cambridge Five Cent Savings Bank, April 28, 1854, with forty-three corporators and eighteen trustees. October 10, 1859, George Stevens was elected president of the bank and continued to serve for over fifty years. In March, 1873, Samuel Slocomb was chosen treasurer and continued to hold office until his death, in 1887, when his assistant, Mary Lowell Stone, was appointed, who died while holding the office, and William E. Lloyd was appointed, who is the present treasurer. On the 1st of April, 1890, it had deposits of $1,514,912, while in 1923 the total deposits were over nine millions. The executives in 1923 were:

Gustavus Goepper, president; William E. Lloyd, treasurer, Charles H. Sloan, assistant treasurer, Richard S. Hall, clerk. Trustees: G. W. Dearborn, J. G. Ferguson, Gustavus Goepper, W. F. Goepper, A. H. Graustein, M. J. Harty, F. W. Hastings, G. H. Lawrence, Thomas Leighton, Jr., W. E. Lloyd, C. J. McIntire, D. C. Proudfoot, W. F. Ross, E. D. Sawyer, C. H. Sloan, W. P. Sutton, F. B. Wheeler, H. E. Worcester.

The North Avenue Savings Bank was incorporated March 7, 1872.

There were thirty-three corporators and eighteen trustees were elected. The executives in 1923 were:

Charles F. Stratton, president; Edward B. Stratton, treasurer; M. Alice Reed, assistant treasurer; Frank E. Sands, clerk. Trustees: A. W. Blackman, H. S. Drew, H. O. Edgerton, E. L. Grueby, L. G. Hathaway, D. E. Hall, Phineas Hubbard, W. E. Hutchins, G. M. Olive, C. F. Pierce, C. D. Rice, F. E. Sands, M. W. Sands, A. P. Stone, C. F. Stratton, E. B. Stratton, Samuel Usher, G. B. Wason.

The Arlington Five Cent Savings Bank was incorporated April 2, 1860. There were forty-one incorporators, and nineteen trustees were elected. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

Charles W. Allen, president; Arthur J. Wellington, clerk; Wilson D. Clark, Jr., treasurer; Edward S. Fessenden, assistant treasurer. Trustees: C. W. Allen, W. D. Clark, Jr., W. K. Cook, E. S. Fessenden, J. R. Foster, R. D. Greene, George Hill, Henry Hornblower, John Lyons, F. L. Maguire, C. A. Moore, M. E. Moore, B. A. Norton, J. P. Parmenter, C. G. Peck, H. G. Porter, W. G. Rolfe, A. J. Wellington, Daniel Wyman.

The North Middlesex Savings Bank of Ayer was incorporated March 5, 1885, with thirty-four incorporators and eighteen trustees. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

Daniel W. Fletcher, president; Ralph L. Hastings, treasurer; Guy B. Remick, clerk. Trustees: T. W. Barry, G. H. Bixby, L. K. Clark, D. W. Fletcher, R. L. Hastings, T. L. Hazen, C. A. P. Lawrence, H. E. Mead, F. A. Patch, O. K. Pierce, G. B. Remick, W. U. Sherwin, E. D. Stone, Benjamin Taft, A. H. Turner, C. H. Weare, H. B. White.

The Middlesex Institution for Savings of Concord was chartered on March 4, 1835, with twenty-eight corporators and eleven trustees. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

William Wheeler, president; Henry F. Smith, treasurer; Herbert W. Hosmer, clerk. Trustees: C. E. Brown, Stedman Buttrick, J. J. Dee, Prescott Keyes, E. L. Parker, B. L. Pratt, Thomas Todd, Jr., F. A. Tower, C. H. Towle, H. F. Tuttle, William Wheeler.

The Everett Savings Bank was incorporated March 1, 1889. There were thirty-six corporators, and eighteen trustees. The first meeting of the corporators was held April 11, 1889, and the corporation was organized with the following officers: President, Wilmot R. Evans; vice-presidents, Woodbury F. Ham, Robert M. Barnard; treasurer, Samuel P. Cannell; clerk, Henry K. Veazie. The bank opened for business May 11, 1889, and the total amount of deposits received up to the close of business on June 30, 1890, was $40,864, and the total number of depositors had been 331. At the same date there remained on deposit $20,247, held by three hundred and sixteen depositors showing

an average to each depositor of $64.07. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

Dudley P. Bailey, president; Henry K. Veazie, clerk; Edgar A. Cate, treasurer; Sara E. Dresser, assistant treasurer. Trustees: D. P. Bailey, J. B. Brown, J. J. Cannell, W. H. Cannell, E. A. Carter, E. A. Cate, Columbus Corey, F. E. Dyer, William Ferguson, F. R. Henderson, F. M. Holmes, W. P. Lombard, Nathan Nichols, J. W. Philbrick, T. A. Smith, H. K. Veazie, G. E. Whittier, and F. B. Woods.

The Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank of Framingham was incorporated April 23, 1883, and commenced business in May. President, Willard Howe; treasurer, George E. Cutler. Amount of deposits, March 1, 1890, $403,982. At the time of incorporation there were forty corporators, and eleven trustees. The amount of deposits in 1923 were $3,842,986.41, and the officers of the bank were:

Arthur M. Fitts, president; Arba S. Baldwin, clerk; Julian W. Phillips, treasurer; Vernard J. Irvine, assistant treasurer. Trustees: A. S. Baldwin, C. T. Boynton, G. H. Eames, A. M. Fitts, S. J. Goddard, A. F. Hall, L. H. Hooker, B. S. Jordan, J. W. Phillips, W. F. Richardson, J. T. Whitney.

The Holliston Savings Bank was incorporated February 27, 1872, and is an institution of great value to the town. The first president of the bank was Alden Leland, and the first treasurer, Orrin Thomson, who held these positions many years. The number of corporators was twenty-six; number of trustees, fifteen. The officers and trustees in 1923 were as follows:

Charles D. Fisher, president; Albert E. Phipps, treasurer; Albion M. Cutler, clerk. Trustees: H. L. Adams, C. H. M. Bartlett, C. A. Crowley, A. M. Cutler, J. H. Dewing, J. P. Dexter, C. P. Dozois, C. D. Fisher, James Inches, J. F. Leland, P. F. Leland, Aloise Maeder, L. J. Maeder, A. E. Phipps, L. E. Razee.

The Hopkinton Savings Bank was incorporated March 23, 1867, with twenty-four corporators. Seventeen trustees were elected. The 1923 executives were:

J. David Stewart, president; Walter M. Hilliard, clerk; Ernest H. Adams, treasurer; Effie L. Woods, assistant treasurer. Trustees: E. H. Adams, E. A. Briggs, G. W. Butterfield, J. L. Claflin, P. H. Dolan, A. W. Gerry, J. A. Gregory, W. M. Hilliard, H. F. Jordan, A. N. Kyes, W. S. Morse, W. D. Moshier, H. H. Piper, D. J. Riley, J. D. Stewart, G. S. Thompson, W. A. Wood.

The Hudson Savings Bank was the first bank located in Hudson. Its act of incorporation is dated February 26, 1869, the number of corporators being thirty-eight, trustees, twenty, and says that Francis Brigham, Edmund M. Stowe, George Houghton, their associates and

successors, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the Hudson Savings Bank. April 23, it was voted, "That each of the trustees of the Hudson Savings Bank deposit a sum not less than ten dollars, to remain in the bank five years without interest;" $210 were thus deposited, which paid the initial expense of the bank. The bank was opened for business May 1, 1869. The first depositor was Robert S. Harlow; amount $100. On the first day $2,110 were deposited. In January, 1870, the deposits were $31,076; January, 1890, $528,521; January, 1923, $3,307,265.83. In a strictly manufacturing town this shows three things: —the thriftiness of the workmen, the sagacity of the bank officials and the confidence workmen have in the bank. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

George B. Cochran, president; Warren T. Safford, treasurer; A. George Gilman, assistant treasurer; Fred O. Welsh, clerk. Trustees: H. P. Andrews, F. E. Brown, F. H. Chamberlain, G. B. Cochran, David Goodale, N. M. Hunter, G. P. Keith, E. P. Larkin, M. E. McNiff, W. H. Moulton, L. F. Tripp, F. O. Welsh, C. B. Wheeler, W. L. Wheeler.

The Lexington Savings Bank was chartered March 11, 1871, with fifty corporators, and twenty-five trustees. During 1889 the whole cost of management barely reached $500, with 785 open accounts and deposits, including the guarantee fund of $200,000, while in 1923 the total deposits were $1,030,841.58, total assets $1,098,274.48. The 1923 executives were:

George E. Briggs, president; Edwin B. Worthen, treasurer; Walter C. Ballard, clerk. Trustees: W. C. Ballard, A. L. Blodgett, G. E. Briggs, J. E. Crone, L. L. Crone, T. A. Custance, C. B. Davis, E. F. Fobes, W. B. Foster, W. C. Hill, C. H. Miles, J. E. A. Mulliken, H. S. O. Nichols, G. D. Milne, F. D. Peirce, L. T. Redman, G. A. Skelton, J. S. Smith, J. W. Smith, G. W. Spaulding, G. E. Stone, E. W. Taylor, A. B. Tenney, H. C. Valentine, J. J. Walsh, H. A. Wheeler, A. C. Whitney, E. B. Worthen.

The Marlborough Savings Bank was incorporated April 3, 1860, with fifty-one corporators and twenty trustees. At the first election of officers, May 21, 1860, Samuel Boyd was chosen president; Jabez S. Witherbee, vice-president; John M. Farwell, clerk; Mary Fay, treasurer; with Thomas Corey, William Morse, 2nd, Samuel A. Chipman, Benjamin F. Underhill, Levi Bigelow, Francis Brigham, A. C. Felton, Asa Lewis, William P. Brigham, Peter P. Howe, C. S. Hastings. The deposits for the first six months amounted to $2,312, when a dividend of 2½ percent was declared. Although the population of Marlborough at this time was 5,900, no bank or institution for savings had been established by its citizens. In 1890 the deposits amounted to $1,421,576.42, while in 1923

with over 9,000 depositors the total deposits were $4,212,699.85, the total assets amounting to $4,604,060.23. The officials in 1923 were:

Charles F. Robinson, president; Charles F. Holyoke, treasurer; Leroy M. Craig, assistant treasurer; Louis P. Howe, clerk. Trustees: W. A. Allen, Amedee Beauregard, G. F. Bond, Michael Burke, J. F. Cosgrove, C. W. Curtis, J. A. Curtis, C. B. Eager, W. B. Fay, J. A. Frye, W. P. Frye, H. M. Hazelton, C. F. Holyoke, E. F. Houghton, L. P. Howe, E. I. Morse, W. B. Morse, W. H. Osgood, C. F. Robinson, C. T. Warner.

The Melrose Savings Bank was incorporated April 5, 1872, but did not organize until the fall of 1874. There were 63 corporators and thirteen trustees were chosen. The total amount of deposits on October 1, 1890, was $383,304.08, with 2,218 depositors, while in 1923 there were over ten thousand accounts, with a total of over three million in deposits, total assets being over three million dollars. The executives in 1923 were:

John Larrabee, president; Frank M. Hoyt, treasurer; George S. Curtis, assistant treasurer; Henry A. Bush, clerk. Trustees: C. H. Adams, F. P. Bowden, A. L. Carr, J. H. Duffill, W. C. Goss, J. A. Hewes, G. R. Jones, E. J. Kitching, John Larrabee, S. H. Martin, E. S. Page, H. T. Sands, F. P. Shumway.

The Natick Five Cents Savings Bank was incorporated April 5, 1859, with 36 corporators, sixteen trustees being elected. This savings bank had steadily increased in financial strength as well as popularity, its total assets in 1890 amounting to over one million dollars, while in 1923 they amounted to $6,011,362.96. At the beginning of 1923 the officers were:

Henry C. Mulligan, president; C. Arthur Dowse, treasurer; Henry C. Fiske, clerk. Trustees: W. R. Bigelow, W. H. Colby, C. A. Coombs, F. E. Cummings, C. A. Dowse, C. A. Eldridge, W. L. Felch, F. H. Hayes, J. B. Leamy, H. C. Mulligan, C. A. Pooke, J. H. Pratt, W. B. Robinson, J. W. Walcott, F. E. Yeager.

The Newton Savings Bank was incorporated June 17, 1831. There were 25 corporators and 15 trustees chosen. The 1923 executives and trustees were:

William F. Bacon, president; Charles H. Clark, treasurer; Dana D. Holbrook, assistant treasurer; George J. Martin, clerk. Trustees: W. F. Bacon, W. H. Barker, H. E. Bothfeld, Bernard Early, Eugene Fanning, J. W. French, C. F. Jones, G. J. Martin, T. W. Proctor, J. B. Simpson, Herbert Stebbins, F. W. Stone, G. E. Stuart, L. D. Towle, A. R. Weed.

The Newton Centre Savings Bank was incorporated February 25, 1896, with 38 corporators, and 25 trustees. In 1923 the officials and trustees were:

William H. Rice, president; Salmon W. Wilder, treasurer; Edward R. Kimball, assistant treasurer; Harry J. Carlson, clerk. Trustees: G. M. Angier, A. C. Badger, E. P. Bosson, H. P. Bradford, W. C. Brewer, H. J. Carlson, F. Gasbarri, F. J. Hale, A. L. Harwood, A. L. Harwood, Jr., S. W. Jones, H. H. Kendall, H. E. Locke, C. S. Luitwieler, G. H. Mellen, W. M. Noble, O. E. Nutter, I. C. Paul, W. H. Rice, F. L. Richardson, G. F. Richardson, F. A. Schirmer, A. L. Scott, G. W. Thompson, S. W. Wilder.

The West Newton Savings Bank was incorporated March 10, 1887. There were 32 corporators, 12 trustees being elected. The bank began business May 1, 1887, with Austin R. Mitchell, president; James H. Nickerson, treasurer. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

George P. Bullard, president; Roland F. Gammons, treasurer; Francis Newhall, clerk. Trustees: G. P. Bullard, E. C. Burrage, H. D. Cabot, H. M. Cole, H. E. Fales, R. F. Gammons, F. E. Hunter, William Kellar, Jarvis Lamson, Francis Newhall, Thomas Weston, Jr., C. J. A. Wilson.

The Stoneham Five Cents Savings Bank was chartered March 28, 1855, with Dr. William H. Heath its first treasurer. Dr. Heath was followed by Ira Gerry, who was the treasurer from 1862 to 1873. Mr. Gerry was a very able and conservative financier, and laid the foundation of a strong institution. At the time of founding there were twenty-two corporators, thirteen trustees being elected. In 1923 the officers were:

Fred E. Nickerson, president; Wilfred A. Smith, treasurer; Frank J. Howell, clerk. The trustees: G. E. Bell, C. F. Buck, F. H. Chase, C. J. Emerson, H. A. Hill, Luther Hill, B. J. Hinds, F. J. Howell, F. E. Nickerson, W. A. Smith, W. B. Stevens, J. B. Swan, C. M. White.

The Wakefield Savings Bank was incorporated by the Legislature May 26, 1869, Cyrus Wakefield becoming the first president, and Daniel Allen, the first treasurer. There were 58 corporators and fifteen trustees were chosen. The bank has had a prosperous career and is now one of the most solid and useful of Wakefield's institutions. The deposits in 1890 were $222,000, while in 1923 the bank carried over 9,000 accounts, with a total deposit of $2,786,080.21, total assets $2,965,046.74. The executives in 1923 were:

John W. White, president; Melvin W. Boardman, treasurer; F. A. Mansfield, assistant treasurer; Arthur L. Wiley, clerk. The trustees: W. O. Abbott, F. H. Atwood, M. W. Boardman, E. T. Bonney, Hugh Connell, H. M. Dolbeare, A. L. Evans, J. L. Gooch, J. S. Griffiths, A. T. Locke, W. A. Mann, C. E. Walton, J. W. White, A. L. Wiley, C. N. Winship.

The Waltham Savings Bank was chartered March 18, 1853, with 98 corporators, eighteen trustees being elected. The original officers were:

Horatio Moore, president; Eliphalet Pearson, vice-president; D. A. Kimball, secretary and treasurer. A new bank building was completed in September, 1889, at a cost of $50,000, and on September 30th of that year was first occupied for business. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

George R. Beal, president; William B. Comstock, treasurer; Arthur H. Paul, clerk. Trustees: C. F. Allen, T. H. Armstrong, G. R. Beal, H. P. Buncher, W. B. Comstock, H. E. Dennen, C. F. French, C. J. McCormick, C. O. Morrill, J. P. Morrissey, A. H. Paul, C. W. Potter, J. M. Quinn, K. P. Smith, C. F. Stone, G. B. Willard, Gleason Wood, J. R. Worcester.

The Watertown Savings Bank was incorporated April 18, 1870. The persons named in the act of incorporation were Nathaniel Whiting, Charles J. Barry and Joshua Coolidge. The first meeting of the incorporators was held September 1, 1870, when the charter was accepted and twelve associate members were elected. In 1890 the number of persons holding books was 3,054, and the amount on deposit was $367,781.79, while in 1923 there were 6,469 depositors, with a total deposit of $2,402,-859.46, assets totalling $2,566,251.36. The executives in 1923 were:

Bartlett M. Shaw, president; John F. Green, treasurer; Lewis B. Tarlton, assistant treasurer; Charles F. Mason, clerk. Trustees: H. W. Brigham, G. N. Chamberlain, F. E. Critchett, P. S. Cunniff, G. E. Goodspeed, A. F. Haynes, J. P. Keefe, C. F. Mason, W. E. Monk, H. W. Otis, W. M. Otis, H. L. Paine, C. D. Russell, H. H. Sawyer, B. M. Shaw, W. B. Snow, G. S. Wright.

The Woburn Five Cents Savings Bank was incorporated April 7, 1854. There were thirty-five incorporators, fifteen trustees being chosen. On the opening day there were sixty-five depositors who placed $854 in its keeping. It has changed its location a number of times with its constantly increasing growth, and now has in connection with its regular savings business, safe deposit vaults. In 1921 the bank carried only five less than ten thousand accounts, totalling nearly four and a half million dollars. The officers and trustees in 1923 were:

Elmer E. Silver, president; A. Herbert Holland, treasurer; Clifford O. Soles, clerk. Trustees: H. M. Aldrich, D. W. Bond, F. J. Brown, L. A. Chute, H. B. Dow, E. P. Fox, F. W. Greydon, A. H. Holland, H. C. Huntress, B. F. Kimball, A. H. Linscott, W. A. Prior, T. I. Reed, E. E. Silver, L. W. Thompson.

The Washington Savings Institution was incorporated May 23, 1892, with 26 corporators and 18 trustees. The officials and trustees in 1923 were:

William A. Hogan, president; Frank A. Groves, treasurer; Margaret R. Cassidy, assistant treasurer; William L. Gookin, clerk. Trustees: P. N. Brunelle, C. E. Collins, R. E. Crowley, P. H. Daley, F. D. Donovan,

H. S. Drury, J. E. Drury, W. F. Farrell, W. L. Gookin, F. A. Groves, C. H. Hanson, J. J. Healey, D. E. Hogan, W. A. Hogan, Patrick O'Hearn, T. B. O'Hearn, P. W. Reilly, Paul Vigeant.

A list of the Savings Banks in Middlesex County follows:

| Location | Name | Number of Depositors | Total Deposits | Total Assets |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| * * Arlington | Arlington Five Cents Savings Bank | 10,772 | $4,308,121.12 | $4,804,482.49 |
| Cambridge | Cambridge Savings Bank | 21,578 | 13,953,717.64 | 15,551,104.96 |
| " | Cambridgeport Savings Bank | 25,554 | 10,469,588.16 | 11,549,414.45 |
| " | East Cambridge Savings Bank | 14,593 | 9,207,265.37 | 10,169,925.38 |
| " | North Avenue Savings Bank | 10,716 | 5,184,758.28 | 5,577,408.74 |
| Concord | Middlesex Institution for Savings | 6,380 | 2,859,206.18 | 3,132,349.33 |
| Everett | Everett Savings Bank | 11,061 | 2,448,178.69 | 2,613,622.30 |
| Framingham | Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank | 11,957 | 3,842,986.41 | 4,095,557.30 |
| Holliston | Holliston Savings Bank | 1,390 | 513,476.87 | 575,632.63 |
| Hopkinton | Hopkinton Savings Bank | 1,190 | 508,419.82 | 572,415.95 |
| Hudson | Hudson Savings Bank | 7,724 | 3,307,265.83 | 3,572,245.92 |
| Lexington | Lexington Savings Bank | 2,911 | 1,030,841.58 | 1,098,274.48 |
| Lowell | Central Savings Bank | 17,373 | 7,202,383.70 | 7,971,828.44 |
| " | City Institution for Savings | 23,981 | 16,439,461.56 | 17,988,248.80 |
| " | Lowell Five Cents Savings Bank | 28,832 | 7,760,349.59 | 8,653,336.34 |
| " | Lowell Institution for Savings | 16,120 | 10,262,441.73 | 11,353,191.10 |
| " | Mechanics Savings Bank | 6,963 | 4,720,603.57 | 5,187,737.12 |
| " | Merrimack River Savings Bank | 7,129 | 4,753,821.27 | 5,335,176.66 |
| " | Washington Savings Institution | 8,148 | 3,233,560.68 | 3,467,812.06 |
| Malden | Malden Savings Bank | 24,046 | 12,419,383.75 | 13,407,733.15 |
| Marlborough | Marlborough Savings Bank | 9,230 | 4,212,699.85 | 4,604,060.23 |
| Maynard | Assabet Institution for Savings | 2,614 | 1,016,697.15 | 1,057,241.62 |
| Medford | Medford Savings Bank | 12,024 | 4,311,139.05 | 4,747,546.20 |
| Melrose | Melrose Savings Bank | 10,814 | 3,372,171.99 | 3,769,916.88 |
| Natick | Natick Five Cents Savings Bank | 12,996 | 5,313,795.25 | 6,011,362.96 |
| Newton | Newton Savings Bank | 16,677 | 8,572,017.23 | 9,459,638.02 |
| " | Newton Centre Savings Bank | 4,313 | 1,477,561.58 | 1,596,923.40 |

| Location | Name | Number of Depositors | Total Deposits | Total Assets |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newton | West Newton Savings Bank | 6,370 | 2,771,491.36 | 3,103,472.24 |
| Reading | Mechanics Savings Bank | 2,734 | 708,924.02 | 772,662.80 |
| Somerville | Somerville Savings Bank | 11,838 | 4,522,441.36 | 4,911,956.58 |
| " | Somerville Institution for Savings | 10,626 | 1,335,324.94 | 1,511,599.91 |
| Stoneham | Stoneham Five Cents Savings Bank | 4,649 | 1,225,378.12 | 1,349,283.36 |
| Wakefield | Wakefield Savings Bank | 9,410 | 2,786,080.21 | 2,965,046.74 |
| Waltham | Waltham Savings Bank | 13,806 | 6,364,536.62 | 7,017,705.56 |
| Watertown | Watertown Savings Bank | 6,469 | 2,402,859.46 | 2,566,251.35 |
| Winchester | Winchester Savings Bank | 5,333 | 2,233,963.38 | 2,463,166.97 |
| Woburn | Woburn Five Cents Savings Bank | 10,440 | 4,471,651.02 | 4,979,954.56 |
| ** Ayer | North Middlesex Savings Bank | 5,268 | 1,963,628.29 | 2,146,422.01 |

**National Banks**—The sudden outbreak of Civil War brought the National Government to a realization that the banking system of the country was ill-fitted for war-making purposes, or for anything requiring great and immediate financing of the United States. There was neither a single great institution such as the Bank of England, nor was there sufficient centralized control over the banks of the separate States to use them as a means of coming to the aid of the government. The American predilection against concentrated banking power had prevented the establishment of a great bank legally authorized to issue funds; America was committed to the system of small scattering banks.

In 1861, Secretary of the Treasury Chase, having to choose between the National issuing of large amounts of paper, or some safer method, proposed a banking system whose principal feature would be: First, the circulation of notes bearing a common impression and authorized by a common authority. Second, the redemption of these notes by institutions to which they might be delivered for issue. Third, the security of that redemption by the pledge of United States stocks, and an adequate provision of specie. The action taken by Congress on the proposal of Secretary Chase marked the beginning of the present National Bank system, an empowering act being passed in 1863.

The results cannot be said to have been the most satisfactory in the financing of the Civil War, but it brought about a real advance in banking over the loosely connected and almost unsupervised State Bank. The National Bank came into its own as a system of discount and deposit banks, with National backing and control; it is as such that the

National Banks have won success and established themselves in the public confidence. The greatest growth began in 1900, the required capital of a National Bank was reduced to $25,000, and the issue of circulation placed upon a more liberal basis. The Federal Reserve Act of December 23, 1913, linked the banks together for common defense and the centralization of reserves where they could be available when and where needed. As at first, it was war that brought about this most marked advance of recent banking. At present, the required full payment in of the capital, the double responsibility of shareholders, the required care in making loans, the direct supervision by the Government and the Federal Reserve Act are the main elements of safety in the National Bank that give this system so strong a position in the financial world of today.

Considered in their alphabetical order, The Arlington National Bank capitalized at $100,000, with a surplus and undivided profits addition of $517,930, comes first. There are many that are larger in every respect, but only one when proportion to population is the point from which it is viewed. The officers are: President, F. V. Noyes; vice-president, E. E. Smith; treasurer, W. D. Clark, Jr., and assistant treasurer, E. S. Fessenden. The Board of Directors is made up of: M. P. Ahern, H. F. Allen, W. T. Beattie, A. Birch, R. W. Blake, G. D. Brown, D. Buttrick, H. L. Cox, H. C. Dow, P. Eberhardt, H. L. Evans, P. A. Hendrick, E. C. Hildreth, E. K. Kimball, G. S. R. McLean. The present resources total $2,549,440.

The First National Bank of Ayer, in 1926 had a paid up capital of $75,000; surplus and undivided profits of $111,780. The amount of deposits was $1,051,451; the resources, $1,257,130. Howard B. White was president; C. K. Pierce, vice-president; Charles A. Normand, cashier. The Board of Directors consisted of D. W. Fletcher, T. L. Hazen, R. H. J. Holden, O. K. Pierce, C. A. P. Lawrence, H. E. Mead, C. A. Normand, W. L. King, and W. Spaulding.

Cambridge has already been mentioned as the place where the first of the National Banks of Middlesex was founded. It was always a competitor of Lowell in the number of banks instituted, but soon dropped behind in this particular, possibly because Cambridge was the smaller city and was in too close proximity to Boston to need, or at least to have, the number of banks its wealth would seem to demand. Besides the "Cambridge Bank," the story of whose start has already been told, there were among the several banks which flourished for a time, were changed during the last century to Trust Companies, the Cambridge City Bank, incorporated in 1853; The Cambridge National Bank, dating from 1864; The Harvard Bank, organized under the general laws of 1860. (This was the first bank in the city to adopt the Na-

tional system); The Charles River Bank, which was chartered as a State Bank in 1832, and reorganized as a National Bank in 1864; The Cambridge Market Bank, founded in 1851, principally to accommodate the "Cambridge Cattle Market." (This "Market" removed to Watertown and the bank closed its doors in 1865); The Manufacturers National Bank, which was the latest to change from the National system by consolidating with the Harvard Trust Company on September 28, 1925.

There is, at present, but one National Bank in Cambridge, the Lechmere, which began business in 1883. The president is Otis S. Brown; vice-presidents, Fred H. Moulton and F. B. Wheeler; cashier, F. B. Wheeler; assistant cashier, C. W. S. Wheeler. The Bank is capitalized at $100,000; the surplus and undivided earnings, $164,650. The resources, as given in the Bank's report of January 1, 1926, totalled $2,430,980; the deposits were $2,021,521. Numbered on the Board of Directors are: Otis S. Brown, J. F. Pennell, G. W. Dearborn, G. Goepper, F. B. Wheeler, F. H. Moulton and L. A. Stingel.

For many years the Concord National Bank has been the principal bank in Concord, although the savings institution of the place is one of the oldest in the county. The Concord National Bank is capitalized at $100,000, has a surplus and an undivided profit account of $127,400. The deposits totaled $946,990; the resources, $1,273,800. The officials of the bank are: President, N. B. Prescott; vice-president, C. Fay Heywood, assistant cashier, R. K. Allen. The Board of Directors is made up of: Prescott Keyes, C. E. Brown, W. Wheeler, C. H. Whitney and C. F. Heywood.

The East Pepperell First National Bank has as its present officials: A. A. Shattuck, president; C. H. Miller, vice-president; H. F. Tarbell, cashier; and Hazel P. Brooks, assistant cashier. The paid up capital has never been changed from its original $50,000, but to it has been added an almost equal amount of surplus and undivided earnings ($49,620). The resources now amount to $778,140; the deposits total $628,510. The present Board of Directors consists of C. A. Miller, A. A. Shattuck, A. P. Wright, I. J. Rowell and H. F. Tarbell.

The Everett National Bank, president, E. L. Sweetzer; vice-presidents, D. R. W. Murdock and W. R. Evans; cashier, E. P. Dexter, is capitalized at $100,000, and has a surplus and undivided earnings account of $71,000. The other officials on the Board of Directors include: F. E. Boyd, W. R. Evans, Jr., F. P. Greenwood, G. A. Kyle, F. E. Lombard, W. J. Murdock, D. R. W. Murdock, E. L. Sweetzer, J. H. Carr, F. C. Fellows, W. F. Harvey, F. J. Lindley, W. P. Lombard, J. F. O'Conner and W. W. Stover. The deposits total $2,523,000; the resources, $2,694,000.

The First National Bank of Framingham was incorporated March 25,

1833, the incorporators being Micah Stone, Dexter Fay, Sullivan Fay, Elijah Perry, Rufus Brewer, Moses Edgell and Josiah Adams. Originally a State Bank, as were nearly all of the banks before the Civil War, it changed to the National system in 1864. The president of the institution now is T. L. Oaks; the vice-president, B. F. Merriam, and L. H. Hooker, cashier. The Board of Directors consists of F. L. Oaks, T. L. Barber, Walker Adams, W. A. Kingsbury, J. M. Merriam, B. F. Merriam, A. M. Fitts, G. L. Avery and Clifford Folger. The bank has a paid up capital of $200,000; surplus and profits of $254,850; deposits amounting $3,948,880; and resources totaling $4,610,350. This bank is not only one of the oldest in the county but the largest in proportion to the size of the city it serves. The South Framingham National Bank of 1880, of which the first president and cashier were James W. Clark and F. M. Stockwell, was absorbed by the older bank in 1888.

The Hopkinton National Bank is capitalized at $25,000, and has a surplus and undivided earning fund of $28,500. In 1926 the resources totaled $224,920, against which were deposits of $166,060. The president was J. H. Leman; vice-president, R. B. Stanley; cashier, A. B. C. Deming, and assistant cashier, E. W. M. Bridges. Numbered with the directorate were E. W. M. Bridges, R. B. Stanley, W. H. Robey, J. H. Lehinen and N. B. Twitchell.

The Hudson National Bank, chartered January 23, 1882, and beginning business in March of the same year, had for its first officials: President, Luman T. Jefts; vice-president, H. C. Tower; cashier, G. A. Lloyd. The present officials are: President, George B. Keith; vice-president, J. H. Robinson; and cashier, Caleb L. Brigham, who was elected to the office in 1883 and has served for the entire forty-three years, only one less than the age of the bank, that has since elapsed. The Board of Directors is made up of: L. D. Apsby, G. A. Coolidge, G. A. Fuller, W. G. Hill, J. H. Robinson, A. N. Story, J. N. Towle, D. A. Wier, F. E. Brown, H. F. Dyson, A. G. Haynes, G. P. Smith, C. I. Sawyer, F. Taylor, G. A. Tripp. The bank has never increased its original capital of $100,000, but has added to this in a surplus and undivided profits another like sum. Deposits in 1926 amounted to $1,143,930, covered by resources figuring $1,521,850.

Lowell, not very many years after its founding as the first strictly industrial city in Massachusetts, and for that matter in the United States, soon went into the organizing of banks to take care of the money problems which were a part of its great factory expansion. Many banks have been established in the city in the years that followed. Some of these failed, a very few were absorbed by other institutions. There never has been the swinging over into the Trust Company, such as has characterized the financial history of Cambridge. Among the older

banks were, The Railroad Bank founded in 1831, by Ebenezer Appleton, Ebenezer Chadwick, William Lawrence, Kirk Boott, Lemuel Pope and John Robinson, all well-known "Captains of Industry" in the early days.

There was also the City Bank of 1836, that found it so difficult to comply with the requirements of the laws enforced during the panic of the next year that the enterprise was abandoned. The Prescott Bank, incorporated in 1850, became a National Bank, with a capital of $300,000, and is now numbered with the missing. There were also the Merchants National Bank, so named in 1864, but incorporated as a State Bank in 1854, and the First National Bank, organized under the National law early in 1864.

The first of the banks fortunately has retained a name which emphasizes its position as the first bank to be formed not only in Lowell, but in the county, which is still very much of the character with which it started. This is the Old Lowell National Bank, founded as the Lowell Bank on March 11, 1828. The incorporators were: Phineas Whiting, Samuel Bachelder, Thomas Hurd, Daniel Richardson, Kirk Boott, Paul Moody, Josiah Crosby, Nathaniel Wright, the latter being the first president, serving for nearly thirty years in that capacity.

The present president is J. L. Robertson; vice-president, J. M. Andrews; cashier, W. W. Cleworth, and assistant cashier, E. N. Foisy. The Board of Directors consists of: A. B. Woolworth, J. J. Kerwin, J. W. Abbott, W. A. Mitchell, J. L. Robertson, L. F. Pauling, F. M. Bell, P. H. Donohoe, J. M. Andrews, J. H. Boardman, T. B. Doe and A. D. Milliken. The bank, now capitalized at $200,000, has surplus and undivided earnings to the extent of $273,650. Deposits total $4,848,690; resources, $5,520,440.

The Appleton National Bank of Lowell received its original charter in 1847, having as its first directors John A. Knowles, Isaac Farrington, J. B. French, John Nesmith, Abner W. Buttrick, Sidney Spalding, George Bragdon, Ransom Reed and John W. Graves. John A. Knowles served for twenty-one years as the first president. The present capital of the bank is given as $300,000; the surplus and profits as $215,120; the resources as $2,624,810, and the deposits as $1,631,180. In 1926 the officials were: George E. King, president; M. T. Pierce, vice-president; cashier, James Walsh. On the Board of Directors are: E. L. Fletcher, C. P. Conant, J. G. Hill, J. H. Shepherd, A. E. Hatch, G. H. Runels, C. P. Allen, R. K. Dexter, G. E. King and A. D. Sargent.

The Wamesit National Bank of Lowell was incorporated April 28, 1853, changing from a State Bank in 1865. Its first officials were: Horace Howard, president; John A. Buttrick, cashier; the first Board of Directors consisting of: Sidney Spalding, Horace Howard, Ignatius Tyler,

Abiel Rolfe, Abram French, Henry C. Howe and Alpheus R. Brown. The present Board of Directors is made up of: T. H. Hayes, L. F. Sherman, F. S. Beau, T. J. McDonald, H. C. Taft, C. E. Spalding, H. K. Noyes, C. M. Forrest, C. H. Warren, H. R. Rice and J. F. Ourns. F. H. Haynes is president; F. S. Beau, vice-president; C. E. Goulding, cashier. The total resources of the bank is given as $1,457,180; deposits, $873,900; capital, $250,000, and surplus and undivided earnings, $177,530.

A conversion in 1923 of the oldest Trust Company in the county, The Middlesex National Bank of Lowell, has a paid up capital of $200,000, a surplus and undivided profits account of $127,800. The deposits totaled, in 1926, $4,342,670; the resources, $99,790. The present officials are: President, Frank P. McGilly; assistant to the president, E. A. Gilley; vice-president, H. P. Beals; and A. T. Dion, cashier. On the Board of Directors are: T. F. Morris, E. O. Conant, H. P. Beals, G. E. Putnam, J. P. Wickham, Harry Achin, J. P. McGilley, C. W. Pearson, J. B. Puling, J. E. Shanley, Percy Parke and A. L. Paul.

The Union National Bank of Lowell is, as the name implies, one organized from former banks. It has a paid up capital of $350,000, the unusually large surplus and undivided profit sum of nearly one million dollars ($968,790), the largest of all the banks in Middlesex. Its resources, in 1926, amounted to $6,745,580, the second largest in the county; the deposits totaled $4,855,840. The present officials are: F. H. Haynes, president; I. O. Small, cashier; F. S. Bean, vice-president, and A. A. Ludwig and P. H. Hartford, assistant cashiers. On the Board of Directors are: F. E. Dunbar, J. F. Sawyer, W. L. Parker, F. Hanchett, A. D. Parker, A. G. Pollard, A. D. Carter, P. F. Sullivan, T. P. Marble, Amasa Pratt, F. C. Church and H. G. Pollard.

The First National Bank of Malden is capitalized at $200,000, has resources to the amount of $5,776,210, deposits of $5,172,810. The surplus and undivided earnings total $178,440. Among the present officials are: Joseph Wiggin, president; A. W. Walker, vice-president; H. W. Fenn, cashier, with J. E. Knowlton and A. L. Wright, assistant cashiers. The Board of Directors consists of: H. E. Converse, E. J. Stevens, W. R. Evans, J. Wiggins, P. V. Mingo, Guy Cate, J. F. Day, A. W. Walker, M. Beebe, W. E. Piper and L. B. Lewis.

The most recently formed bank in the county as this is being written (November 20, 1926) is the Medford National Bank, which received its charter on November 15, 1926. This new bank occupies nearly all of the first floor of the Coolidge Building in Medford and has for its president Mayor Richard B. Coolidge, a cousin of Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States.

The First National Bank of Marlborough was organized October 1, 1863, the one hundred and fifty-eighth bank organized under the Na-

tional Bank Act. Mark Fay was unanimously chosen as its first president, which office he held until his death, in 1876. Edmund C. Whitney, formerly of the Lancaster Bank, was elected its first cashier, remaining in that position until 1882, when he resigned to become cashier of one of the Boston banks. The first directors were: Mark Fay, Samuel Boyd, Sidney G. Fay, John M. Whiton, Erastus S. Woods and George E. Woods. When the charter of the bank expired, in 1882, it was wound up, its stockholders receiving, on August 30th, the sum of $150 for every share of stock they held, and immediately organized another bank with the same name to commence business September 1, 1882, it being the twenty-seven hundred and seventieth bank organized under the National Act. The original directors of this bank were: Samuel Boyd, William Morse, Sidney G. Fay, William H. Fay, Charles L. Fay, Edward F. Johnson, Esq., and T. A. Coolidge. The first president was Samuel Boyd, and F. L. Claflin, the first cashier. The present president is Edward H. Ellis; vice-president, C. W. Curtis, and the cashier is G. E. Greeley. The bank has a paid up capital of $150,000; deposits, $2,014,-010, and their total resources are $1,521,850; their surplus and divided profits amounting to $100,000. Serving on the Board of Directors are: C. W. Curtis, C. F. Robinson, G. E. Greeley, E. H. Ellis, W. H. Downey, J. A. Curtis, L. P. Howe, J. F. Cosgrove, W. A. Allen, J. J. Shaughnessey, C. T. Warner and R. H. Beaudreau.

The Peoples National Bank was organized October 31, 1879, and the bank authorized to commence business December 4. Elbridge Howe was elected president and John L. Stone, cashier. The first Board of Directors were: Elbridge Howe, S. J. Shaw, D. W. Hitchcock, Samuel Boyd, S. H. Howe, Joseph Boyd, John O'Connell, George N. Cate, S. N. Aldrich, W. M. Warren, L. S. Brigham, Stephen A. Howe, (2d), Abel Howe, and T. A. Coolidge, of Marlborough, and J. S. Bradley, of Hudson. S. R. Stevens is the present president; A. C. Lamson, vice-president; H. G. Adams is cashier and T. P. Lynch, assistant cashier. The bank has a paid up capital of $150,000; deposits, $2,801,590; surplus and divided profits of $230,130; and total resources of $2,614,030. The Board of Directors consists of: A. C. Lamson, J. T. Burnett, F. G. Yaylor, J. A. Frye, J. F. Bigelow, S. R. Stevens, E. T. Simoneau, J. W. McDonald, J. A. O'Connell, W. P. Frye, S. P. Carpenter, G. F. Bond, M. Burke, W. B. Fay, H. G. Powning.

The first financial institution in Reading was the Reading Agricultural and Mechanic Association located in The Bank Building on Main Street. It was a loan and fund institution which at one time did a prosperous business as a bank of discount and deposit, but which was finally obliged to suspend, without loss to its creditors, however. The officers of this institution were: Edmund Parker, Daniel Pratt and Thomas Sweetser,

who successively held the position of president, and Cyrus Smith, Stephen Foster and Jonathan Frost, successive treasurers.

The Reading First National Bank, a much later institution, incorporated about 1892 with a capital of $50,000, has as its present officers: President, W. S. Parker, and J. W. Grimes, vice-president; cashier, C. C. White, with G. W. Stantial as assistant cashier. The surplus and profits of the bank are $96,700, with deposits of $2,003,000, and total resources of $2,198,400. On the Board of Directors are: W. L. Palmer, J. W. Grimes, M. A. Stone, J. H. Grimes and C. C. White.

The Somerville National Bank of that city has for its present officers: Presidents, J. E. Gendron and F. E. Dickerman; vice-president, N. P. Reed; cashier, C. M. Hutchins. The paid up capital of the bank is $100,000; deposits of $4,514,890; with surplus and profits, $222,340, and total resources of $4,994,200. The Board of Directors consists of: G. M. Barnum, I. F. Carpenter, A. A. Perry, W. C. Mentzer, F. Carpenter, C. E. Morgan, L. C. Wentworth, F. E. Dickerman, E. P. Carr, J. E. Gendron, W. E. Whitney, T. I. Freeburns and F. O'Brien.

The First National Bank of Townsend is the outcome of The Townsend Bank incorporated in 1854. John M. Hollingsworth, of Groton, was elected the first president and Edward Ordway, cashier. The following month Mr. Hollingsworth resigned the presidency and Walter Fessenden, of Townsend, was elected to serve in his place. For over thirty years Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Ordway attended to the business of this bank in a highly satisfactory manner. It was changed to a National Bank in April, 1865. The present officials are: President, Henry A. Hill; vice-president, C. B. Stickney, with C. B. Willard as cashier. The bank has a paid up capital of $100,000, surplus and profits of $107,410, deposits amounting to $607,910, with total resources of $939,080.

The Waltham National Bank sprang from the Waltham Bank, incorporated in the spring of 1836, with a capital of $100,000. The first moderator of the corporation was Ephraim Allen, and Luke Fiske was chosen president. June 2, 1836, a committee was appointed to consider the question of a banking house. June 9th, the committee recommended the erection of a brick building thirty-six feet by twenty-six feet and two stories high. Nathaniel Maynard was elected cashier and the first meeting was held in the new building October 1, 1836. In December, 1864, the bank was chartered as a National Bank, and on April 1, 1865, commenced business under its new charter. The present officers are: Francis B. Sears, president; W. I. Bullard, vice-president; Henry P. Burcher, vice-president and cashier; C. A. Green and H. B. Mansfield, assistant cashiers. The bank has a capital of $300,000, with deposits of $4,909,040, while its surplus and profits are $188,110, with total resources of $5,325,440. On the Board of Directors are: W. F. Bowker, J. A.

McGlinchey, W. F. Rooney, W. P. Bartel, C. F. Stone, W. L. Bullard, F. B. Sears, A. G. Childs, H. P. Brown, P. P. Adams, A. M. Eaton, E. L. Folsom and W. J. Bauman.

The Union Market National Bank of Watertown was organized in 1873. The first meeting of the association for organization was on April 9, 1873. It was voted at first to call the bank the Watertown National Bank, but it afterwards was decided to call it the Union Market National Bank, and that the capital should be $100,000, with the privilege of increasing it to $300,000. The first president elected was George N. March, and Captain J. K. Stickney was elected cashier, and in July, 1873, Tilden C. Abbott was elected assistant cashier. The present officers are: President, John F. Tufts; vice-president, H. C. Derby; cashier, W. S. Holdsworth, and assistant cashier, A. P. Combs, Jr. The bank has a capital of $400,000; with deposits of $8,149,750; surplus and profits of $664,620, and total resources of $9,321,460. The Board of Directors consists of: L. S. Cleveland, C. Brigham, T. A. Dalby, G. N. Chamberlain, H. C. Derby, A. A. Glidden and J. F. Tifts.

The West Newton First National Bank was incorporated January 1, 1887. The credit for the establishment of this bank is due Mr. James H. Nickerson. For a number of years he had carried on in West Newton a private bank under the name of "The Exchange Banking Company." The success of this private enterprise was so material, and its business grew so rapidly that he was led to believe there was an opening for a National Bank. He broached the subject to a number of the leading residents of Newton, and it was received with so much favor, he immediately took steps to carry out his plan. The first president was James H. Nickerson, Austen R. Mitchell, vice-president, and M. L. Parker, the first cashier. The present officers are: C. E. Hatfield, president; F. L. Richardson and W. T. Halliday, vice-presidents; cashier, W. M. Cahill, and assistant cashier, Ethel F. Gammons. The capital is $100,000, the surplus and profits, $102,370, while the deposits are $1,454,-050, with total resources of $1,858,550. The Board of Directors is made up of: G. P. Bullard, F. J. Burrage, H. P. Burrage, C. E. Hatfield, G. P. Pulsifer, J. B. Ross, S. H. Whidden and E. F. Woods.

The Winchester National Bank, which is of comparatively modern origin, has as its present officers: President, E. A. Tutein; E. J. O'Hara and E. C. Sanderson, vice-presidents; and E. M. Nelson, cashier; Henry B. Harris, assistant cashier. The bank is capitalized at $100,000, with deposits of $810,200, a surplus and profit of $13,320, with total resources of $884,600. The members of the Board of Directors are: A. B. Allen, W. H. Bowe, J. F. Carr, W. F. Flanders, E. S. Foster, J. Hinds, E. A. Tutein, W. A. Kneeland, F. J. O'Hara, H. M. Richmond, H. L. Riddle, E. C. Sanderson, R. W. Sheehy.

The Tanners National Bank of Woburn was incorporated September, 1917, with an original capitalization of $100,000. Walter H. Wilcox was its first and only president, capably directing the bank through its inauguration and successfully directing it to its present eminence. Within four years of its incorporation it became a million dollar bank. The officers of the bank are: President, W. H. Wilcox; vice-presidents, J. D. Haggerty and W. T. Burns; with H. C. Allen as cashier, and Osborne Bezanson as assistant cashier. The bank has a capital of $100,000, surplus and profits of $28,980, deposits amounting to $1,273,070 and total resources of $1,402,050. The present Board of Directors consists of: W. F. Burnes, W. H. Curtis, W. J. Gann, B. J. Golden, T. T. Sidelinker, E. D. Hart, T. K. Lynch, T. W. Pollock, J. D. Haggerty and W. H. Wilcox.

The Woburn National Bank was incorporated January 11, 1905. It was first known as Woburn Bank and incorporated April 28, 1853, as a State organization; and on January 24, 1865, it was changed to The First National Bank of Woburn, remaining as such until January 11, 1905, when it was organized as the Woburn National Bank. From April, 1853, this bank has had a record of nearly three-quarters of a century of success, during which time it has never failed to pay its shareholders regular semi-annual dividends. Abijah Thompson served as its first president. The present officials are: John W. Johnson, president; Edward Johnson and John C. Buck, vice-presidents; and John C. Buck, cashier, with Mary E. Godkin and S. M. Price as assistant cashiers. The bank has a capital of $100,000; deposits of $1,533,933; surplus and profits of $113,840, with total resources of $1,775,490. The bank has one of the best lighted, most artistic and attractive banking interiors in New England. The present Board of Directors consists of: J. T. Johnson, E. F. Johnson, J. G. Maguire, J. S. Murray, W. E. Blodgett, L. W. Thompson, D. R. Biggs, J. C. Buck, E. P. Fox and Robert Chambers.

The following table taken from the January, 1926, "Banker's Blue Book," gives the standing of the National Banks of the County:

| City | Liabilities | | Resources | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Paid up Capital | Surplus and Profits | Deposits | Total Resources |
| Arlington National Bank.. | $100,000 | $517,930 | $1,290,000 | $2,549,440 |
| First National Bank of Ayer ..... | 75,000 | 111,780 | 1,051,451 | 1,257,130 |
| Lechmere National Bank (Cambridge) ..... | 100,000 | 164,650 | 2,021,521 | 2,430,980 |
| Concord National Bank .... | 100,000 | 127,400 | 946,990 | 1,273,800 |
| East Pepperell First National Bank ..... | 50,000 | 49,620 | 628,510 | 778,140 |

| City | Liabilities | | Resources | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Paid up Capital | Surplus and Profits | Deposits | Total Resources |
| Everett National Bank .... | 100,000 | 71,000 | 2,523,000 | 2,694,000 |
| Framingham First National Bank ..... | 200,000 | 254,850 | 3,948,880 | 4,610,350 |
| Hopkinton National Bank.. | 25,000 | 28,500 | 166,060 | 224,920 |
| Hudson National Bank..... | 100,000 | 100,000 | 1,143,930 | 1,521,850 |
| (Lowell) Appleton National Bank ..... | 300,000 | 215,120 | 1,631,180 | 2,624,810 |
| (Lowell) Middlesex Bank (National) ..... | 200,000 | 127,800 | 4,342,670 | 4,999,790 |
| Old Lowell National Bank | 200,000 | 273,650 | 4,848,690 | 5,520,440 |
| (Lowell) Union National Bank ..... | 350,000 | 968,790 | 4,855,840 | 6,745,580 |
| (Lowell) Wamesit National Bank ..... | 250,000 | 177,530 | 873,900 | 1,457,180 |
| Malden First National Bank ..... | 200,000 | 178,440 | 5,172,810 | 5,776,210 |
| Marlboro First National Bank ..... | 150,000 | 172,640 | 2,014,010 | 2,614,030 |
| (Marlboro) Peoples National Bank ..... | 150,000 | 230,130 | 2,801,590 | 3,337,500 |
| Reading First National Bank ..... | 50,000 | 96,700 | 2,003,000 | 2,198,400 |
| Somerville National Bank.. | 100,000 | 222,340 | 4,514,890 | 4,994,200 |
| Townsend First National Bank ..... | 100,000 | 107,410 | 607,910 | 939,080 |
| Waltham National Bank .... | 300,000 | 188,110 | 4,909,040 | 5,325,440 |
| (Watertown) Union Market National Bank ..... | 400,000 | 664,620 | 8,149,750 | 9,321,460 |
| West Newton First National Bank ..... | 100,000 | 102,370 | 1,454,050 | 1,858,550 |
| Winchester National Bank | 100,000 | 13,320 | 810,200 | 884,600 |
| (Woburn) Tanners National Bank ..... | 100,000 | 28,980 | 1,273,070 | 1,402,050 |
| Woburn National Bank ..... | 100,000 | 113,840 | 1,533,933 | 1,775,490 |

**Trust Companies**—The trust companies are comparatively modern institutions, the most of them being converted National or other banks which desired to do an enlarged business such as could not be done under the National Bank restrictions. All the trust companies in Massachusetts date from less than a century ago; only four in Middlesex County antedate the present century; The Cambridge Trust Company (1890; The Lowell Trust Company (1890); The Newton Trust Company (1894); and The Malden Trust Company (1896). The oldest in the county, but not now in business, was the Middlesex Safe Deposit and Trust Company, which was incorporated as such, May 29, 1888. Recent consolidations of certain Cambridge companies have reduced

the number of institutions in Middlesex to twenty-two. On December 31, 1924, the Guaranty Trust Company of Cambridge joined the Central Trust Company of that same city; and on September 26, 1926, the Manufacturers National Bank of Cambridge consolidated with the Harvard Trust Company. Practically all of the trust companies in the county are made up of Commercial Departments, Savings Departments, and Trust Departments, although several have not the latter mentioned feature.

All that follows in connection with the condensed accounts of the individual companies now operating in Middlesex is based on figures and records of January 1, 1926.

The Menotomy Trust Company of Arlington was incorporated January 1, 1913, and began business February 24, 1913. The present officers and directors of the Company are: James A. Bailey, president; John A. Bishop, treasurer. Board of Directors: C. W. Allen, J. A. Bailey, J. A. Bishop, E. F. Dewing, T. J. Donnelly, H. L. Frost, M. J. Gallagher, J. C. Holmes, J. O. Holt, Henry Hornblower, T. D. Kennedy, J. E. Kimball, M. F. Lane, M. E. Moore, W. A. Peirce, G. O. Russell, F. H. Walker, Franklin Wyman. The total assets amount to $4,064,901. The capital stock, surplus and undivided earnings totaled $427,553; the deposits in both of the Commercial and Interest departments being $3,448,709.

The Waverly Trust Company of Belmont, the most recently organized of the trust companies in the county, was formed June 3, 1920, and opened its doors for the first time October 2 of the same year. Although only six years in business the assets of the combined Commercial and Savings departments total $1,587,642. The capitalization has never been increased from the original $50,000, although to it may be added a surplus of $30,000, and undivided profits of $5,544. Deposits subject to check amount to $714,562. In the Savings Department the net increase in the number of depositors for the year 1925 was 561, the total number of depositors being 11,187, with deposits of $683,902.

The officials of the Company consist of: Edwin E. Farnham, president; Alfred F. Kendall, treasurer. Board of Directors: J. P. Bradbury, F. A. Chandler, A. E. Corbett, J. F. Edgar, E. E. Farnham, J. W. Flett, E. S. Hilton, A. F. Kendall, I. F. Munroe, F. E. Poor, W. A. Ross, A. L. Taylor, G. L. Weymouth, D. M. Wood.

Cambridge is the only city in Middlesex with more than one Trust Company. The oldest of the four now active is the Cambridge Trust Company, incorporated May 8, 1890, but which did not begin to conduct a trust business until November 7, 1892. As a National Bank the Trust Company was organized June 1, 1864, changing to the present form as and when indicated above. It has a branch bank in North

Cambridge. According to their report of June 30, 1926, the total resources of the Company were $7,062,522; the deposits in the Checking Department were $3,483,567; in the Savings Department, $2,126,671; the business of the Trust Department totaled $901,181. The capital has remained at $100,000, the surplus was $100,000, and the undivided profits, $199,835.

The present officials of the Company are: Directors—Stoughton Bell, Putnam, Bell, Dutch & Santry; Edward L. Bennett, C. D. Parker & Co., Inc.; George Howland Cox, Chairman of the Board; Edgar Crocker, Trustee; Edward A. Davenport, Chairman of the Board of the Metropolitan Ice Co.; Bradley Dewey, Treasurer Dewey & Almy Chemical Co.; William H. Dunbar, Dunbar, Nutter & McClennen; Alvan B. Hathaway, President; David H. Howie, Trustee; Fred W. Moore, Graduate Manager Harvard Athletic Association; William B. Munro, Municipal Government, Harvard University; J. Henry Russell, President Cambridge Electric Light Company; Lincoln F. Schwab, Attorney-at-Law; Charles A. Stover, Billings & Stover; Philip Stockton, President Old Colony Trust Company; Herbert H. White, Treasurer University Press; George Howland Cox, chairman of the board; Alvan B. Hathaway, president; Edward A. Davenport, vice-president; Herbert H. White, vice-president; E. Willard Phippen, treasurer; Edward L. Bennett, secretary; Fred W. Davies, assistant treasurer; A. Mead Wheeler, assistant secretary; Lloyd A. Frost, branch office manager.

The Central Trust Company of Cambridge has a history going back to what was probably the oldest bank now still doing business in the county, and certainly is the oldest bank in Cambridge. An account of this institution (The Cambridge Bank, founded in 1826) has already been given in this chapter and need not be repeated. As the Central Trust Company it was organized, July 19, 1904, and in December 31, 1924, it absorbed the Guaranty Trust Company of the city. Just prior to the consolidation, the capital stock was increased from $300,000 to $500,000 (December 11, 1924). Its first business as a Trust Company was transacted March 5, 1905. The present officials and directors of the institution are: Walter G. Davis, president; Alfred C. Coughlan, secretary; Thomas T. Macfarland, treasurer; Charles B. Wiggin, assistant treasurer. Board of Directors: John Ames, E. H. Bright, C. S. Cahill, E. R. Champlin, A. J. Daly, W. G. Davis, J. C. Dow, H. P. Elliot, J. H. Hurley, F. X. Masse, J. G. Morrison, F. W. Norris, M. P. Philbrick, W. F. Ross, E. D. Sawyer, G. R. Southwick, E. R. Speare, H. F. Stimpson, C. S. Whittemore. The assets of the three departments are: Commercial, $6,032,893; Savings, $9,690,585; Trust, $598,553. Over against this were deposits in the Commercial Department of $3,821,280; in the Savings Department of $9,134,102. The total number of savings depositors

was 20,085, an increase in the number of accounts in the year 1925 of 5,759. The main bank is at Central Square; the branch institution being in East Cambridge.

The Harvard Trust Company is the wealthiest banking institution in Cambridge, having two branch offices in the city, and resources totaling $22,605,373. This amount is divided between the Commercial Department, $12,826,716; the Savings Department, $4,647,183; and the Trust funds, $5,131,474. The demand deposits are $7,250,741; savings deposits, $10,514; in trust accounts, $4,508,971. The capital stock was $500,000; surplus, $650,000; undivided profits, $273,592. The Company absorbed the Manufacturers National Bank of Cambridge, September 26, 1926.

The officials of the Harvard Trust Company consist of: Walter F. Earle, president; Herbert H. Dyer, secretary; Arthur M. Wright, treasurer; Paul R. Snyder, Alfred M. Keeler, assistant treasurers; Charles J. Sommer, actuary. Board of Directors: A. F. Amee, Joseph August, A. M. Barnes, A. H. Blevins, J. J. Conley, F. A. Countway, F. W. Dallinger, G. L. Dow, W. H. Dunning, W. F. Earle, E. S. Kelley, P. E. Mareau, A. H. Smith, W. H. Sprague, H. N. Stearns, T. H. Thompson, E. D. Whitford.

The Inman Trust Company was incorporated October 20, 1919, and began business April 5, 1920. The capital stock is $200,000; the surplus, $100,000. The total assets of the Commercial Department are $1,728,808; of the Savings Department, $1,679,601. Demand deposits total $1,202,730; and that of 5,761 individual savings accounts to $1,636,789. The net increase in the number of depositors during the year amounted to 1,549, an unusually large percentage on the whole number. The present officers and directors of the Inman Trust Company are: Albert E. Lynch, president; Frank J. Kelly, secretary and treasurer. Board of Directors: J. W. Bean, J. J. Boyle, J. S. Cassedy, E. A. Counihan, Jr., J. B. Curley, R. J. Fawcett, F. J. Kelly, A. E. Lynch, M. D. McLaskey, G. W. Norton, W. D. Rockwood, J. F. Sullivan, W. H. Taylor.

The Everett Trust Company started as the Clinton Trust Company, December 3, 1909; the first business being done on February 21 of the next year. Ferdinand Holmes is the president of the institution, with Thomas Dorn, secretary and treasurer. Many of the leading men of the town form the Board of Directors: F. A. Adams, Elmore Andrews, E. I. Blount, J. G. Blount, E. J. Driscoll, William Ferguson, R. M. Folsom, H. F. Furness, H. A. Hall, F. M. Holmes, G. E. Hunt, F. E. Jennings, Andrew Nelson, C. C. Nichols, J. W. Philbrick, I. E. Sexton, G. C. Torngren. According to the Trust Company's statement of December 31, 1926, the assets of the Commercial Department amounted to $3,157,055; and of the Savings Division, $2,823,067. There were 8,951 depositors in the Savings Account Department, an increase for the year

of 315; the deposits being $2,767,807. In the Commercial Department the capital stock was $300,000; surplus and undivided profits amounting to $135,027. Demand deposits totaled $2,168,840.

The Framingham Trust Company, founded May 9, 1909, began business August 15, 1910. Its present officers are: Enos H. Bigelow, president; Fred W. Pope, treasurer; Herbert E. Taylor, assistant treasurer. Board of Directors: I. D. Allen, E. H. Bigelow, J. T. Butterworth, F. H. Fales, G. H. Fitts, F. H. Hilton, A. N. Leverone, I. L. Lewis, J. J. Prindiville, H. D. Sears, W. E. Sullivan, J. P. Welsh. The resources divided according to departments are: In the Commercial Division, $1,368,964; in the Savings Department, $1,860,499. The deposits open to demand checks amount to $1,028,350. There are 7,750 accounts in the Savings fund totaling $1,821,449. The Trust Company is capitalized at $100,000 and has a surplus of $75,000.

The Lexington Trust Company, of that town, was incorporated January 8, 1914, opening for business April 21, of the same year. The present officials are: Elwyn G. Preston, president; William R. S. Eaton, treasurer. Board of Directors: H. M. Aldrich, H. C. Blake, L. S. Brown, R. P. Clapp, J. C. Hutchinson, E. H. Mara, E. P. Merriam, E. G. Preston, R. L. Ryder, L. E. Smith. The capital stock has never been increased from the early $50,000, but since then has been added a surplus of $175,000, and there are undivided earnings of $21,294. The resources behind the Commercial Department amount to $1,132,811, against which are checking deposits of $833,599. The number of depositors in the Savings division is 2,213; the total of deposits, $1,116,427; behind which are assets of $1,161,402. The Trust Company, opened several years later than the other parts of the Trust Company, has assets to the total of $82,051.

The Lowell Trust Company, by a few days only failing to be the oldest Trust Institution in the county, was incorporated May 23, 1890. It was the first to begin actual business, for it opened its doors February 9, 1891. The list of officials at the beginning of 1926 consisted of: George M. Harrigan, president; John F. Connors, secretary and actuary. Board of Directors: Laforest Beals, R. M. Blair, Gerald Cahill, C. P. Comerford, J. F. Connors, G. W. Dearborn, Isaac De Mallie, J. C. Donovan, W. F. Farrell, J. C. Farrington, C. O. Hall, G. M. Harrigan, C. W. Holmes, T. F. Kelley, C. L. Marren, B. C. McGuire, T. F. McKay, H. C. Merrill, G. E. Mongeau, E. A. Morris, Patrick O'Hearn, Charles O'Neil, Bartholomew Scannell. A report of the condition of the Company, dated January 1, 1926, gives the total assets of the Commercial Department as $2,869,263; deposits subject to demand check, $2,224,766; capital and surplus, $251,000. In the Savings Department there were

1,352 accounts, with deposits of $877,566; behind which were assets to the amount of $910,618.

The Malden Trust Company, another of the earliest of the Middlesex trust concerns, was incorporated June 3, 1896, and began business on December 1, of the same year. Figures for the three departments (January 1, 1926) are: Capital, $300,000; surplus, $200,000; undivided profits, $126,346. Total resources of the Commercial Department, $3,802,293; deposits subject to demand, $2,496,296. In the Savings Division, number of accounts, 10,137, with deposits of $5,021,136, and assets of $5,105,799. The assets of the Trust Department were $124,902. Officials: Dana J. Flanders, president; Harold E. MacInnes, treasurer; Charles W. Phinney, assistant treasurer. Board of Directors: F. J. Bartlett, J. G. Chandler, D. J. Flanders, H. N. Flanders, C. L. Hamilton, R. A. Hodgdon, F. R. Kaulback, E. E. Locke, William Niedner, F. J. Perkins, F. M. Sawtelle, J. E. Simpson, P. W. Sprague, E. A. Stevens, A. H. Wellman.

The Maynard Trust Company of Maynard was founded August 13, 1913, beginning business November 24, 1913. The officials on January 1, 1926, were: George H. Creighton, president; Frank E. Taylor, secretary and treasurer. Board of Directors: W. B. Case, B. J. Coughlin, Kennan Damon, G. H. Creighton, H. W. Flood, O. S. Fowler, A. H. Gleason, H. F. Gleason, G. H. Gutteridge, A. W. Haynes, W. B. Ingham, W. F. Litchfield, G. F. Lynch, L. H. Maynard, F. J. McCarron, Waldemar Memela, P. J. Sullivan, H. A. Wilson. The capital stock and surplus totals $155,500; the resources of all departments, $1,238,397; deposits in the Commercial Department, $406,339; in the Savings Department, $602,586.

The Medford Trust Company, of Medford, with a branch office on High Street, was organized October 31, 1908, starting its business November 2, 1908. The officials at the present time are: Edwin T. McKnight, president; Charles H. Barnes, secretary and treasurer. Board of Directors: C. M. Brewer, John Coulson, A. F. Curtin, W. N. Curtis, W. F. Cushing, W. J. Daly, F. W. Lovering, L. H. Lovering, E. T. McKnight, E. B. Moore, L. E. Page, A. S. Price, E. W. Reed, C. H. Sawyer, H. F. Staples. The capital stock is placed at $100,000, with a surplus of $80,000. The resources of the Commercial Department are $1,585,812; and of the Savings Department, $1,566,809. Demand check deposits totaled $1,253,424; savings accounts, of which there are 5,320, $1,473,121.

In Melrose the Melrose Trust Company began business January 24, 1916, five days after incorporation. Besides the main bank there is a branch office at 515 Franklin Street. The present officials are: Edward M. Hamlin, president; Armour W. Clark, secretary and treasurer. Board

of Directors: C. H. Adams, C. L. Allen, A. W. Clark, E. M. Hamlin, C. M. Huxford, Joseph Remick, R. H. Sircom, H. F. Staples. The Company is capitalized at $200,000, and has resources amounting to more than two and a half million dollars; in the Commercial Department, $1,308,823; in the Savings department, $1,480,980. The deposits in the Commercial Division subject to check were $1,006,073; in the Savings accounts, $1,401,649.

The Natick Trust Company, of Natick, was incorporated August 20, 1916, and began business on September 5 of the same year. The present officials are: John B. Leamy, president; Frank C. Bishop, treasurer; Walter D. Leavitt, assistant treasurer. Board of Directors: F. C. Bishop, C. A. Coombs, A. T. Dean, G. C. Fairbanks, A. P. Felton, H. G. Fiske, H. H. Ham, J. B. Leamy, D. A. Lucey, E. T. Pelton, C. F. Pfeiffer, C. A. Pooke. On January 1, 1926, the resources of the Commercial Department were given as $1,454,024; and of the Savings Department as $1,897,006. Checking deposits totaled $1,152,286; and in the Savings accounts, $1,785,814. The capital stock is placed at $100,000, the surplus being of the same amount.

The Newton Trust Company, with resources second only to one other bank in the county, was incorporated March 22, 1894, opening its doors for business July 12, of the same year. Newton is a city made up of a number of villages, and the Newton Trust Company has found it advantageous to have branch offices in many of these places. Besides the main office, it has branches at No. 303 Walnut Street, Newtonville; Auburn Street, Auburndale; Beacon Street and Institution Avenue, Newton Centre; No. 1153 Walnut Street, Newton Highlands, and No. 1635 Beacon Street, Waban. The officials in 1926 were: Seward W. Jones, president; William T. Halliday, treasurer; William M. Cahill, secretary. Board of Directors: G. M. Angier, R. W. Babson, W. F. Bacon, H. M. Biscoe, E. P. Bosson, E. P. Brown, A. P. Carter, H. P. Converse, J. W. French, S. H. Greene, F. J. Hale, Sydney Harwood, C. E. Hatfield, F. R. Hayward, E. E. Hopkins, Samuel Hyslop, S. W. Jones, L. K. Liggett, J. F. Lothrop, G. J. Martin, F. T. Miller, H. J. Nichols, J. L. Richards, F. L. Richardson, C. W. Ryder, G. F. Schrafft, F. H. Stuart, R. C. Thompson, J. P. Westcott, Jr., T. W. White. The capital stock is $600,000; the surplus, $600,000; the undivided profits, $314,293. The resources of the Commercial Department are $10,670,402; of the Savings Department, $6,042,795; of the Trust Division, $1,629,126. There are 11,465 accounts in the Savings Department, averaging $500 (an unusually large average), bringing amount deposited up to $5,803,941.

The Highland Trust Company of Somerville, incorporated April 4, 1917, began business on August 27, that same year. The present officials are: George G. Brayley, president; Frederick D. Potter, secretary and

treasurer. Board of Directors: W. C. Blair, G. G. Brayley, F. M. Carter, J. L. Carter, L. B. Chandler, George Cohen, J. A. Farrar, J. J. Hayes, J. W. Knowles, J. O. Knox, Isaac Lappin, C. E. MacKay, F. L. Maynard, H. J. Nichols, A. W. Park, R. R. Rideout, C. L. Shea, W. J. Sullivan, E. H. Walker, M. W. White, F. M. Wilder. The Company is capitalized at $100,000, while there are a surplus and undivided profits of $77,408. The assets of the Commercial Department are $1,475,899; of the Savings Department, $1,756,777. Deposits in Savings accounts, of which there are 10,182, totaled $1,681,343.

The Somerville Trust Company was incorporated October 8, 1906, beginning business November 11, 1907. The officials of 1926 are: Harry C. Fallis, president; Percy G. Cameron, treasurer. Board of Directors: F. C. Alexander, C. L. Allen, F. M. Carr, F. S. Cummings, H. C. Fallis, T. I. Freeburn, J. E. Gendron, George Heintz, J. W. F. Hobbs, W. C. Mentzer, C. E. Mongan, A. A. Perry, J. S. Pike, N. P. Reed, A. E. Sargent, W. L. Snow, C. E. Wallis. According to a statement of January 1, 1926, the resources of the Commercial Department were $2,290,527; of the Savings account, $3,542,616. There were 8,494 Savings accounts, totaling $3,363,897. The capital stock of the Company was placed at $150,000; the surplus at $100,000.

The Stoneham Trust Company of Stoneham, incorporated November 27, 1916, began business December 4, 1916. The officials are: Oliver W. Richardson, acting president; Alton W. Ridley, secretary and treasurer; Laura M. Baldwin, assistant treasurer. Board of Directors: G. B. Arnold, W. D. Brackett, Andrew Christensen, G. H. Cogan, W. S. Folant, J. H. Kerrigan, T. E. McKenna, H. H. Richardson, O. W. Richardson, W. H. White. The resources of the Company, totaling nearly one million dollars, are divided between the Commercial Department ($483,831) and the Savings Department ($503,703). There were on December 1, 1926, 2,151 Savings accounts, with deposits of $491,388.

The Wakefield Trust Company of Wakefield, incorporated June 29, 1916, and beginning business on the following July 11th, is capitalized at $300,000, having a surplus of $200,000, with undivided earnings of $127,879. The present officials are: Junius Beebe, president; Frank C. Carter, treasurer. Board of Directors: J. H. Beebe, J. O. Beebe, Junius Beebe, F. C. Carter, H. I. Thayer, A. G. Walton, C. N. Winship. The Commercial Department has assets of $2,519,170. The Savings Department, with depositors numbering 636, shows deposits amounting to $217,935. This department was opened October 17, 1923. The Trust Division shows resources of $162,044.

The Waltham Trust Company of Waltham, incorporated March 21, 1901, began business exactly two years later. A Savings Department was opened January 2, 1917. The present officials are: Shirley H.

Eldridge, president; Charles G. Clark, treasurer; Clinton A. Coolidge, secretary. Board of Directors: F. W. Brigham, W. E. Bright, C. S. Cobb, T. I. Curtin, H. E. Dennen, R. E. Eichler, S. H. Eldridge, J. J. Flynn, Jr., J. D. Kelly, R. E. Lord, R. L. Lyons, J. H. McCusker, A. H. Paul, Joseph Remick, E. P. Sanderson, R. H. Sanderson, A. R. Smith, Jr., E. P. Smith, E. H. Swain, Fresenius Van Nüys, J. H. Whitehead. January 1, 1926, the resources behind the Commercial Department amounted to $6,804,517; in the Savings Department, $727,246; in the Trust Section, $514,876. There were 7,687 accounts in the Savings Department covering deposits to the amount of $681,636.

The Winchester Trust Company of Winchester, incorporated July 1, 1913, began business on July 1, of that same year. The present officials are: Ralph E. Joslin, president; Charles E. Barrett, secretary and treasurer; Helen M. Monroe, actuary. Board of Directors: C. E. Barrett, C. B. Downer, J. A. Downs, G. A. Fernald, F. E. Hovey, R. E. Joslin, W. L. Parsons, F. L. Pattee, F. S. Snyder, C. H. Symmes. The assets of the Commercial Division are $1,209,816; of the Savings Department, $878,916. In this latter department were 1,146 accounts covering deposits of $851,321. The Savings Division was opened March 27, 1918.

The following statistics are based on the Annual Report of the Commission of Banks, January 1, 1926:

| Location | Name | Date of Incorporation | Capital and Surplus | Total Resources | Savings Deposits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arlington | Menotomy Trust Company | Jan. 1, 1913 | $300,000 | $4,711,468 | |
| Belmont | Waverley Trust Company | June 3, 1920 | 80,000 | 1,587,642 | $683,902 |
| Cambridge | Cambridge Trust Company | May 8, 1890 | 200,000 | 6,545,579 | 2,014,141 |
| Cambridge | Central Trust Company | July 19, 1904 | 1,110,000 | 16,321,931 | 9,690,485 |
| Cambridge | Harvard Trust Company | July 14, 1904 | 1,150,000 | 22,605,373 | 4,492,301 |
| Cambridge | Inman Trust Company | Oct. 20, 1919 | 300,000 | 3,408,309 | 1,679,501 |
| Everett | Clinton Trust Company | Dec. 3, 1909 | 365,000 | 5,975,122 | 2,767,807 |
| Framingham | Framingham Trust Company | May 11, 1909 | 175,000 | 3,229,563 | 1,821,499 |
| Lexington | Lexington Trust Company | Jan. 8, 1914 | 225,000 | 2,376,122 | 1,116,742 |
| Lowell | Lowell Trust Company | May 23, 1890 | 350,000 | 3,779,881 | 875,566 |
| Malden | Malden Trust Company | Jan. 3, 1896 | 500,000 | 9,034,085 | 5,021,136 |

| Location | Name | Date of Incorporation | Capital and Surplus | Total Resources | Savings Deposits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maynard | Maynard Trust Company | Aug. 13, 1913 | 155,500 | 1,238,397 | 622,586 |
| Medford | Medford Trust Company | Oct. 31, 1908 | 180,000 | 3,152,621 | 1,473,121 |
| Melrose | Melrose Trust Company | Jan. 19, 1916 | 226,000 | 2,498,803 | 1,401,149 |
| Natick | Natick Trust Company | Aug. 21, 1916 | 200,000 | 3,357,030 | 1,785,814 |
| Newton | Newton Trust Company | Mar. 22, 1894 | 1,200,000 | 18,342,323 | 5,803,941 |
| Somerville | Highland Trust Company | Apr. 4, 1917 | 140,000 | 3,232,676 | 1,681,343 |
| Somerville | Somerville Trust Company | Oct. 8, 1907 | 250,000 | 5,743,143 | 3,363,897 |
| Stoneham | Stoneham Trust Company | Nov. 27, 1916 | 56,200 | 987,534 | 491,388 |
| Wakefield | Wakefield Trust Company | Jan. 29, 1916 | 500,000 | 2,939,767 | 217,935 |
| Waltham | Waltham Trust Company | Mar. 21, 1901 | 600,000 | 7,046,639 | 681,636 |
| Winchester | Winchester Trust Company | July 1, 1913 | 150,000 | 2,088,730 | 857,321 |

**Credit Unions**—Within the last fifteen years there has developed in Massachusetts a class of bank known as the Credit Union. One of the first to organize in Middlesex County, and ranking among the largest of the Unions in the State is the Progressive Workmen's Credit Union of Malden. This was incorporated on September 12, 1911, and shares the date with the Notre Dame De Lourdes Credit Union of Lowell, but unlike the latter, the Malden institution did business the day of its incorporation. The present officers of the Progressive Workmen's Union are: James W. Mover, president; Harry Elson, treasurer; Joseph Cardinal, clerk. This Union is the strongest in the county, having in 1923 a membership of 1,416, with 10,021 fully paid shares, and assets of $349,645.79.

The Notre Dame De Lourdes Credit Union of Lowell was incorporated on the same day as the Malden Union, and differed only from it in delaying a week before doing any business. The officers of the Union in 1923 were: Aurele Nadeau, president; Raphael Palardy, treasurer; Alfred Nadeau, clerk. The membership was 953, the number of fully paid shares 10,950, exceeding in number any other, and the total assets amounted to $302,857.44.

Other Unions in the county are: In Cambridge three, the Blake-Knowles Credit Union, incorporated December 12, 1920, beginning business on December 17. The officers in 1923 were: Walter J. Kunkle, pres-

ident; Garrett L. Sullivan, treasurer; Florence C. Callahan, clerk. Central Credit Union of Cambridge, incorporated April 27, 1921, starting business November 1, 1921. The officers (1923) were: May Zarling, president; Clara M. Turman, treasurer; Clara M. Turman, clerk. The third Union is the Prospect, which was formed in 1921, February 14. The officials of the Union in 1923 were: John R. Wilson, president; Dennis Mockler, treasurer; David Lezberg, clerk.

Second oldest of the Credit Unions is the Framingham Institution, the D. M. C. This was incorporated January 26, 1917, beginning business a week later. The 1923 officers were: H. H. Hall, president; J. Halsey Baldwin, treasurer and clerk. At that time the D. M. C. had a membership of 783, paid up shares to the number of 2,349, and total assets of $38,351.95. There were no salaried officials.

There are two Credit Unions in Lowell other than the one mentioned, The Jeanne D'Arc Credit Union and the Lowell Bleachery Union. The first was incorporated February 5, 1912, opening for business on February 12; the second being incorporated October 3, 1921, but not engaging in business until a month later. The officials chosen by the Bleachery Union were: Mark A. Adams, president; Etta R. McDermott, treasurer; and Madeline E. Miner, Clerk of the Corporation. Officials of the Jeanne D'Arc Union in 1923 were: Ephrem Pelletier, president; Paul Vigeant, treasurer; Joseph Lambert, clerk. This organization, at that time, had assets amounting to $342,423,63. A second Union is located at Malden, the Santa Maria Credit Union, the officers of which, in 1923, were: Andrew S. Kenney, president; John J. Lenehan, treasurer and clerk of the Corporation. The Union was incorporated February 18, 1918, and began business on October 1 of the same year.

The St. Mary's Parish Credit Union, of Marlborough, was incorporated July 9, 1913, beginning activities August 13, 1913. The officers in 1913 were: William H. Wellen, president; Arthur Guilbert, treasurer and clerk. Waltham has two Unions, the St. Joseph's, and the Waltham Watch. The former was incorporated January 14, 1913; the latter on March 3, 1917. The officers of the St. Joseph's Credit Union, in 1923, were: Philip L. Landry, president; Ambrose Glasson, treasurer, and Eugene L. Houde, clerk. The Waltham Watch Institution was led in 1923, by James E. Brackett, president; Paul A. Eldridge, treasurer and clerk. Assets to the amount of $77,856.28 were held.

# CHAPTER XIX

## CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC.

**Pioneer Privations**—When the first settlement was made in Massachusetts, it was done by a set of people who were poor. The first pioneering of that which is now Middlesex County was also made by those who were relatively badly off as far as wealth was concerned. The fact that the backers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were men of means did not mean that those who came received any of that wealth, or that they were to be cared for by the Company if they failed to force a living from the land which was given them. The pioneers were, in fact, in debt to the parent company, and knew that they would be held responsible to the last penny. Poverty, therefore, came over the ocean to this land with the first shipload.

The colonists hated this condition from the start, and many of the harsh laws and the severe, often cruel treatment of those unable to support themselves, were a result of this hatred of poverty. At first that panacea for all social ills, Communism, was tried. All possessions were held in common, no matter how much one did or did not contribute to the general welfare of the settlement. This scheme failed utterly, and nearly ended the Plymouth Colony. Under the date 1623 Bradford wrote: "And after they began to come to want, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants of ye Indians and would cutt them woode & fetch them water for a cup full of corne; others fell to plaine stealing, both night & day, from ye Indians."

Fortunately the colonists awoke in time and each started to plant and work for himself. The colony survived, but harm had been done to the spirit of the people. They were two centuries getting over a fear of poverty. Robert W. Kelso, writing on the legal phase of poor relief, states:

"Barring Old England, with her debtor's prison and her poor law unions, there is probably not another chapter in the annals of poverty among civilized people so drab and so dry of true sympathy as that of Colonial Massachusetts; not yet such a record so pregnant with the quality of justice, or so replete with those salient principles, however slowly developing, which combined in their final stage to make up a wholesome social programme among a self-governing people.

"Like the dry unlovely arms of the century plant, the practices of those earlier decades embraced within their harsh outline a flower, coming slowly into bloom, a system of social service which is still far short of ideal, but which in these early years of the twentieth century stands out in American experience as an example before the world. So great is the contrast between the methods of olden times and the public opinion of today that the government is busy seeking to redefine its nomenclature of poor relief in milder phrase, and to profess somehow, a complete denial of the existence of paupers."

**Town Charity**—The town was the first form of government to become established in Massachusetts, and the early laws recognized that the responsibility for the poor rested upon the town. In recent years the emphasis has been taken off the town, and the State is now the measure of responsibility. But for centuries the town had to attend to its own charity affairs. Watertown had not been settled a decade before the selectmen were empowered by law to punish anyone who entertained a friend longer than two weeks. This was based on the fear that a visitor might become a public charge. Soon all the towns were passing rules that forbade newcomers entering their boundaries. The stranger was welcomed only when his religious ideas were similar to those held by the people of the town, and evidence produced that he was not likely to become a public dependency. An outsider had to be "lycensed to come and dwell within this government." Usually someone in the town had to go bond for any newcomer, either the person who brought him in or the one who harbored him.

Even earlier public examination and approval of all visitors or would-be settlers was a prerequisite to a prolonged stay in town. Again, land could not be transferred to strangers without the approval of the town authorities. Without this more than formality such sales were void. There also grew a custom of warning settlers of more recent arrival to leave the town; the intention being to escape any responsibility for their care should they later become unable to support themselves. According to W. Walters' "History of Chelmsford," "During the year 1795 the town of Chelmsford warned two hundred and twenty-five persons to depart the town within fifteen days. Many hundreds were warned out during the eighteenth century." Probably every town in Middlesex followed this custom. The most of these warnings were simply formal, but the intention was to avoid responsibility for the poor, to shift the burden on some other shoulder than their own.

In spite of all preventive measures, paupers increased, and the burdens placed upon the towns by dependents multiplied. Because they had to, the towns instituted means and agencies of poor relief, but of such a

character sometimes as to be a disgrace. Town government rested with a committee known as "selectmen" and upon them rested the duty of caring for the needy. A very few of the older towns, only two in Middlesex, placed the poor under one roof, but almshouse care was not general until 1700. The case of each individual came before the town authorities who had to shift the burden of his care to some other place, or get out of it in the cheapest way possible. The poor were auctioned off; the lowest bidder getting the job of looking after the person sold. "It became the custom, universal among our Massachusetts communities, to bid off the support of the town's poor at public auction. The scene was usually staged at the tavern on a Saturday night just following the town meeting. Here, ranged about the table, sat the fathers of the town and such of those as by hard living and coarse thinking had arrived at a place in life where they could speculate upon the bodily vigor and probable capacity for hard labor of a half-witted boy, a forlorn widow, or a halt or tottering old man. As they drained their liquor, the talk was not on the sorrows of the poor, or the hope that life, even the most humble, must hold for all men; it turned, rather, upon the odd shilling, the halfpence, the danger of the pauper dying, whereby the bidder must lose a part of his equity. In most cases the town must forego some of the contract price and provide the box, the gravecloth and the liquor for the funeral. The undertaker could not sublet if a stipulation to that effect was not included in the terms. That the auctioned poor would receive care any better than a self-interested driver out of his unsupervised thoughtfulness would afford them was out of the question. Little children and aged women were alike appraised, and their labor value estimated in dollars and cents. The widows, probably the most numerous of the classes, brought some of the higher prices. Families were divided without compunction, the mother, father and children sold out or indentured to different individuals. Pauperism was not simply a disgrace, but a crime."

**First Almshouse in 1660**—Eventually a change was made by which the poor were auctioned off as a group to a single contractor. The result was a privately owned almshouse run, naturally, for the benefit of the owner. There were two results coming from this plan. Either the paupers were treated so illy that the town went back to the individual sale; or the keeper made money, and the town thought that if there was any money to be gotten from the care of the poor, it wanted it for itself. This was the genesis of the almshouse system in Massachusetts.

The State has reason to be proud of its present comfortable and ably managed almshouses. At one time, practically every town and city in Middlesex had such a house, although fewer than a half of the civil

divisions are now so provided. Good as is the modern almshouse, there are so many other agencies caring for the poor that they become fewer each year. Under the closest supervision, the present-day almshouse is one of the best of the means used for looking after dependents who cannot be cared for in other ways.

But the almshouse of the past was all that was evil in the way of social service. There was little separation of the sexes; there was no classification of ages or condition. The little child was housed with the prostitute, the vagrant, the idiot and the maniac. These houses became schools for crimes, breeders of immorality and chronic pauperism. The early poorhouse bred the very class of degenerate chronic pauper it hoped to prevent.

> For decades in the history of our almshouse system the jail was the only other institution where individuals were housed; and it was natural enough therefore, to gather together under this single roof for the poor all manner of persons of what condition soever, who were either unable or unwilling to do for themselves. Of the worthy poor, there were the widow who was beyond self-support; the little child left orphan or sired by the incompetent; the idiot who was the grinning butt of public ridicule; the maniac; the lame; the halt; and the blind. They were gathered together in the same enclosure, sometimes, but not always, with separate sleeping quarters. It was common to provide a separate room for the furiously mad, as their ravings made life intolerable for the rest.
>
> But if this family of strange bedfellows had stopped with the impotent poor, many of the evils that grew up might have been prevented. These resulted from the presence of the vicious. Into the midst of these little children, these widows, and these helpless cripples were thrown the vagabond, the prostitute brought to her lying-in, the drunkard, and the loathsome syphilitic.

In 1660 the first almshouse was built at Boston. Several attempts were made in later years to provide for the separation of the vicious from the "worthy poor," but without success. By 1712, the almshouse was a jail, house of correction, and home of the dependent. There was no provision for the employment for the able-bodied until 1735. As late as 1790 a committee reported: "The almshouse in Boston is, perhaps, the only instance known where persons of every description and disease are lodged under the same roof and in some instances in the same contagious apartments, by which means the sick are disturbed by the noise of the healthy, and the infirm rendered liable to the vices and diseases of the diseased and profligate." It cannot be said, however, that the almshouses of other parts of the State were much better.

Another factor which quite upset the town system of looking after the poor, came about through the State assuming the support of certain classes of dependents. After King Philip's War of 1675, the Province provided funds to pay the towns for the relief of war refugees who might come within their borders. Although only intended to be temporary it proved such a boon to the towns that the law was not re-

pealed. Some of the towns were able to pay for the care of all their poor with what they wheedled out of the Province. By 1720, the "Province Poor" were a distinct class, the vagabonds from all over the country. By 1833, it was recognized that these wanderers threatened to swamp the almshouses. Seemingly they had effected a brotherhood of beggars that could, and would, stop at an almshouse and demand, and secure, food, shelter and drink, without price or labor. The almshouse became the rendezvous, the clubhouse of the idle.

The steps taken by the State in the absorption of poor relief in reaching its present efficiency and humanity in the handling of so large a problem can only be mentioned briefly. Not until 1832 were any definite measures taken "to provide a more effectual and economical method of supporting State Paupers than the present." Instead of providing workhouses that would discourage vagrancy, a house of correction was provided for.

**Public Welfare Department**—In 1874, the western counties were given authority to combine in the erection of a district almshouse. What was really the first constructive step taken by Massachusetts in the care of the unsettled poor was on May 1, 1854, when three almshouses were opened at Tewksbury, Bridgewater and Monson, and within a fortnight were filled to their capacity of five hundred beds each. The one at Tewksbury received 688 inmates the first week, and within twenty days had 800 enrolled, although it had been built to care for five hundred.

The insane and the idiot, which formerly had been considered criminals rather than diseased, were provided with the first State hospital in 1834. In 1848, a small appropriation was made for the teaching of ten idiotic children, but no other provision was made for this class until 1878, when the State shared in the affairs of a private institution, the Massachusetts School for the Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth. By 1858, there were seven State institutions, three for the insane, and four for the State poor. There was also a prison, and two reform schools. On October 1, 1863, the Board of State Charities was appointed, and the work of the State charities went into the hands of a single body. On December 1, 1919, this board was reorganized as the State Department of Public Welfare, with a single commissioner responsible for its administration to the Governor and Legislature, but subject to the advice and veto of an unpaid advisory board of six members.

Stated in the briefest form, the major functions of this department, which is still in force, are five in number: 1. The general supervision of the five State institutions, viz: the State Infirmary; the Hospital School for crippled and deformed children; the three Industrial Schools for juvenile delinquents (one at Shirley); the Industrial School for Girls,

at Lancaster. 2. Supervision of local relief and the audit of city and town claims for relief extended to the unsettled poor. 3. Supervision of incorporated charities. 4. Partial supervision of local boards on housing and town planning. 5. The care, custody and maintenance of State minor wards. There are other institutions in the State under different departments, so that, altogether there are in Massachusetts at the present time thirteen State institutions for the treatment and care of the insane and three for the feeble-minded. There are five State and more than twenty-five local institutions for consumptives; three industrial schools. Totaling the State, cities and towns, during 1920, $15,610,-418 was spent yearly.

At the same time, the incorporated charities of the State reported expenditures to the amount of $23,292,675. Their instances of aid totaled $1,000,000. The figures for 1925 of the private charitable corporations, which are only a part of the philanthropic enterprises of the State, show 3,015,523 individuals aided, with current expenditures of $36,823,503, of which less than a fifth was paid out in salaries. In nearly three centuries the charities of the Commonwealth have surely become vast in extent. The present agencies are remedial rather than preventive. It is toward preventive measures that attention is now being directed, and a future system of relief, more scientific, but not less humane, is being worked out.

Of the public charitable institutions located in Middlesex County, the largest is the State Infirmary at Tewksbury, to which already attention has been directed. It started as an almshouse in 1854. After being put to many purposes, it now provides almshouse and hospital care for indigent persons not chargeable for support to any city or town. More than 5,000 were cared for during 1925, and the average number of inmates was 2,425. The sum of $886,970 was expended for all purposes. The Industrial School at Shirley provides custodial care and industrial training yearly for about 660 boys between the ages of 18 and 21. George F. Campbell is superintendent, and $152,742 was spent in 1925. The Middlesex County Training School at North Chelmsford, for truants and habitual school offenders, cares for an average attendance of 86.

**Private, Charitable and Philanthropical Organizations**—So far in this chapter the attempt has been made only to trace the history of poor relief in the State and county. Of necessity this has had to be confined to public charities. And yet private philanthropy precedes and exceeds that of the town, county or State. The greater sums now expended for the relief of the needy and the improvement of social conditions, are those spent in private institutions, in voluntary associations. These set the pace, and set up the example that must be followed by

our governmental institutions. As yet there have been few attempts to give the history of private benevolence, perhaps because, in the aggregate, the work is too formidable.

Fortunately some knowledge is available of the philanthropic institutions of the county through the medium of the Reports of the Department of Welfare of the Commonwealth. The following is a directory of the private charitable and philanthropic corporations of Middlesex County. Where names of individuals are mentioned they are of officials in office in 1920-22; historical data has been taken from many sources; in other respects the data given and figures quoted are of 1925:

**Arlington**—Symmes Hospital, founded by the bequest of Stephen Symmes in 1901, although not built until the next year, has a property now valued at five times the $30,000 left by Stephen Symmes. Aid was given in 1925 to 1,203 at a total expenditure of $54,000. It maintains a general hospital and training school for nurses. The Order of St. Anne (St. John's House for Children) was incorporated in 1911, for religious, charitable and educational purposes. The Red Cross Society is represented in Arlington as it is in nearly all the towns and cities of Middlesex. The Woman's Aid Association, formed in 1911, and the Welfare Council, formerly the Associated Charities, organized in 1916, are two of the important benevolent bodies in the city. The Woman's Club with a membership of 600 is one of the most active agencies in all good works.

**Ayer**—The principal philanthropies of Ayer cluster around the Ayer Hospital, with its Hospital Association; the Women's Club and several affiliated organizations. There is also the White Ribbon Home, incorporated in 1919 for the purpose of providing a home for aged members of the once strong Massachusetts Women's Christian Temperance Union.

**Belmont**—The only incorporated philanthropic organization in this place is the Belmont Community Nursing Association, which in 1919, was formed to promote the health of the neighborhood through the care and instruction of competent nurses. There are a number of other agencies of very recent formation.

**Cambridge**—The charitable and associated organizations of Cambridge are so numerous that little more than naming them can be attempted. Many of them date from early times, and expanded to meet each need as it arose. The Cambridge Hospital, the largest in the city, was first opened in 1867 by Miss Emily Parsons, although not incorporated until February 13, 1871. It is the usual general hospital, but of unusual size and equipment. The present real estate, alone, is valued at $854,990; the number treated in 1925 was 5,500. Dr. William B. Swan

was president; Albert M. Barnes, secretary; and George A. Giles, treasurer.

The Cambridge Home for Aged People, incorporated in 1887, is the second largest institution in the city. Its purpose is to provide homes for Protestant persons of more than sixty-five, who have been residents of Cambridge for more than ten years. The number so helped averages above fifty, and the home provided is valued at $386,399. William B. Monro is president; Helen W. Aubin, secretary; and George Howland, treasurer.

The Avon Home, founded in 1874 for the care of needy women suffering from disease, ranks close after the Cambridge Home in the amount invested in the work ($305,526). The book value is five times the amount stated. The number treated during the year, both in the Home and out, is very large. George R. Fearing is president; Nathaniel N. Walker, secretary; and Frederick J. Bradlee, treasurer.

The Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, a Catholic institution, has been active since 1893, and has real estate and equipment valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars. The hospital is open to the tubercular, regardless of creed, race or color. About three hundred are cared for yearly.

Other organizations, named without any attempt to measure their work or importance to the community, are: The Ames Foundation; The Baptist Home, established in 1892, probably the only home for those of the denomination in Massachusetts. The Cambridge and Somerville Gemelath Chesed Charitable Loan Association; The Cambridge Anti-Tuberculosis Association; The Cambridge Hebrew Women's Aid Association, all indicate by their names the purpose of the organizations. The Cambridgeport Fruit and Flower Mission, nearly thirty years old, distributes fruits, flowers and delicacies to the sick poor. The Cambridge Visiting Nursing Association, founded in 1904, does well its part in the amelioration of human suffering wherever found in the city. Mrs. Woodward Emery is president, and Miss Alberta M. Houghton, treasurer. The Cambridge Neighborhood House, Incorporated; Cambridge Rotary Educational Fund, Incorporated; Columbus Day Nursery; Harvard Legal Aid Society; are all of recent origin. The Cambridge Welfare Union was founded in 1883, for the study and help of charities. Edwin H. Hall is president; Henry F. Ramhofer, treasurer. The East End Union is the active survivor of a like organization born in 1885, and incorporated in 1889. It aids in the carrying forward on a non-sectarian basis, Sunday School, Temperance, Industrial and other like movements for the benefit of its neighborhood. Other organizations are: The Young Men's Christian Association, and the Women's Christian Association, both too well known to require explanation; The Lamson

Home; Middlesex Charitable Infirmaries; Russian Society Znanie; Wesley Foundation at Harvard. The Stillman Infirmary deserves more than passing notice for the work it does for the ailing students of Harvard.

**Concord**—One of the memorable historic events of the old town was the establishment in 1718 by Peter Wright, a weaver, of the charity that is known to this day as the "Silent Poor Fund." Wright's bequest, amounting to only a few pounds, has since been so added to as to have grown to many thousands of dollars. The Concord Home for the Aged was incorporated in 1887, and is what its name suggests, the inmates being over sixty in age and residents of the town for more than five years. William Wheeler is president; Miss Marion Keyes, secretary; William Brown, treasurer. The Concord Charitable Society, dating from 1896, aims to relieve distress, encourage industry, and promote happiness among the feminine part of the community; especial attention being given to the needs of poor children. Mrs. Sherman Hoar is president; Mrs. Charles E. Brown, secretary; Mrs. Herbert W. Hosmer, treasurer. The New England Deaconess Association has had a hospital in Concord since 1889. William T. Rich is president; Clarence W. Williams, secretary; and C. H. J. Kimball treasurer. About 2,000 patients are treated annually. The Emerson Hospital, a memorial to the poet and philosopher, and the Woman's Parish Association are two of the other notable incorporated philanthropic organizations. There are a number of other Concord associations and clubs, particularly those among the women, which are carrying on the work for civic improvement and social benefits.

**Everett**—Practically all of the benevolent associations of the city are establishments of the present century. The New England Home for Deaf Mutes is probably the oldest of these bodies, having been incorporated in 1901. It has a large plant and cares for a number of the aged, blind or infirm deaf mutes. Reverend A. Z. Conrad, D. D., is president; Phineas Hubbard, treasurer. The Everett Home for Aged Persons was founded the next year (1902). It purposes to provide support to the limit of its capacity for aged persons. Ernest R. Fall is president; Edward Slocum, treasurer. The Everett Cottage Hospital, although incorporated in 1894, has been rather limited in its work by a lack of resources. Other associations are: The Church Home Association, Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society and the Chevro Kodisho, all aiding their associates in sickness and death.

**Framingham**—Certain civic associations have been very active and successful in Framingham, such as: The Chautauqua Association, Chris-

tian Workers' Union, Framingham Civic League, Women's Club, Hebrew and other Aid Societies and many others. The Framingham Hospital gives hospital care and treatment to the sick and injured. It was incorporated in 1890, and gives treatment to about 2,500 annually. Charles E. Devonshire is president, and Frederick L. Oaks, treasurer. There is also the Home for Aged Men and Women, founded in 1886, which furnishes a home for indigent persons at least sixty years of age who have been residents of Framingham for ten years. Mrs. Margaret M. Bowditch is president; Mrs. Arthur St. J. Whiting, secretary; John H. Temple, treasurer.

**Lincoln**—The Farrington Memorial, the most notable institution of Lincoln, is doing a most remarkable work in the temporary care of delicate children, mostly between the ages of nine to fifteen. No institution could be more beautifully or more healthfully located than the Memorial is among the hills of the town. The funds already invested amount to nearly $300,000, and care is given yearly to about 250 children. Henry M. Rogers is president, and Alice T. Parsons secretary and treasurer. The Farrington Memorial was founded in 1911.

**Lexington**—The town of Lexington is an everlasting debtor to members of the Cary family for some of the best of its civic institutions. Beginning in 1868, Mrs. Maria Hastings Cary offered a sum for a public library. She did give $20,000 towards the building of a town hall in 1874. Endeavors by her daughter, and other members of the family were made to benefit Lexington, having as their final form the establishment of the Isaac Harris Cary Educational Fund in recent years. This fund now amounts to more than half a million dollars in real estate, buildings, and money. The Lexington Home for the Aged, incorporated in 1905, houses dependent residents of the town who are sixty-five or older. Newton P. Frye is the president; C. O. Andrews, treasurer. The Lexington Public Health Association, Incorporated, has for several years been an active force in the betterment of health conditions in Lexington, both individual and in general.

**Lowell**—To Frederick Fanning Ayer, foremost among the benefactors of the city, Lowell owes many of its philanthropic institutions. Some of his noteworthy gifts were: The Lowell General Hospital, $390,500; the Ayer Home for Young Children, $175,000; the Lowell Textile School, $166,500; the Young Women's Christian Association, $65,000; the Old Ladies' Home, $65,000; the Lowell Day Nursery, $62,500; the Lowell Humane Society, $10,000, and the Young Men's Christian Association, $7,000.

The Lowell General Hospital, started by the people of the city, led

James K. Fellows to give the site. A hospital association was formed at the same time, 1891, by Dr. Lorenzo S. Fox, which secured the endowment. The present book value of the Hospital is more than $775,000. Treatment is given to about 3,000 yearly. Arthur G. Pollard is president, William T. Shepherd is secretary, and John F. Sawyer, treasurer.

Saint John's Hospital is almost as large as the General, and was first opened March 27, 1867, by the Sisters of Charity. While under Catholic auspices, support is given by citizens of all religious belief.

The original purpose was to treat the cases of individuals "suddenly struck down or injured by accidents in the mills, or on the railroad, or by any other means." It is now a public hospital for the sick and injured without respect to how the difficulty came about, or the color, nationality or creed of the needy. In 1925, 4,277 were treated.

Other hospitals are: The Lowell Corporation Hospital, incorporated in 1912, and the Lowell Dispensary. Homes and Orphanages include: The Old Ladies' Home, a monument to the work of Mrs. William North and others in 1867. Mrs. Edwin T. Shaw is president. The Ayer Home, for unfortunate children, dates from 1898. A third of a million dollars is invested in this work. Battles Home, incorporated in 1901, provides a home for aged male residents of Lowell. The Children's Home (1903) and the Faith Home (1884), both endeavor to provide Christian homes for orphans, neglected and destitute children. St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, goes also under the name of The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston, the title under which it was incorporated in 1897. The Orphanelina Franco-American cares for orphans between the ages of three and twelve.

Other institutions and societies are: The Channing Fraternity, organized under the Unitarian Church for service to the ill; The Florence Crittenton Rescue League, dating from 1913, assisting unfortunate and needy girls in every way practicable; Ladies' Gmeloos Chasodem Association; Ladies' Helping Hand Society (1904); Lowell Boys' Club Association, doing active work among the street boys since 1909; Lowell Nursery Association (1899), caring for the children of working mothers during the day; Lowell Good Will Industries; Lowell Guild (1911), maintaining district nursing and a milk station; Lowell Humane Society (1889), interested in humane work for children and animals; Lowell Service League (1916), an organization to promote coöperation among charitable agencies; Lowell Community Service; Ministry-at-Large in Lowell, a religious association dating from 1843, incorporated since 1879, for religious, educational, benevolent and charitable purposes. There are thriving Young Men's and Young Women's Christian

associations and a number of Ladies' and Men's clubs, doing social and civic service.

**Malden**—The multiplication of incorporated charitable, civic and philanthropic organizations in the last few years is well illustrated in the history of Malden. Five years ago (1920) there were only six such societies; in 1925 there were seventeen, and a number of others not incorporated. The oldest of the present corporations is the Industrial Aid Society which was organized in 1875 to relieve and prevent destitution, by rendering prompt and efficient aid to the deserving poor of the town. It now specializes in a day nursery, community nursing as well as the relief of the poor. The Malden Hospital, after a hard struggle, was established in 1890. It does the work of a general hospital, has real estate and equipment to the amount of $586,755, and serves annually about 2,600 persons. The Hon. Arthur Wellman is president; Arthur L. Wight, treasurer. The Malden Home for the Aged, incorporated 1892, has the usual restrictions of such institutions, and gives a pleasant home to twenty-five. Frank J. Bartlett is president. The Monday Club, a woman's organization, dating from 1906, maintains an industrial school for girls, and plays a large part in the care of the needy of the city. Mrs. Ida Cummings is president; Mrs. Myrtle Putnam, secretary; Miss Edna Whittemore, treasurer; Mrs. Frances Newcomb is director of the school. The Woman's Club of Malden, originating in 1878, chartered under the name, Old and New Club in 1890, while not so intended is one of the active philanthropic societies in the city. The Associated Charities of Malden was founded and incorporated in 1904, for the purpose of securing the concurrent and harmonious action of the charities of the city. Erskine R. Bickford is at the head; Frank G. Wellsman is treasurer. The Malden Anti-Tuberculosis Society was established in 1915, to aid in the cure and prevention of tuberculosis. Dr. Jacob Green is president; J. Eliot Knowlton, treasurer. The Harriet E. Sawyer Home for Aged Women is a memorial to that dear lady. It cares for thirty-three of the old and needy.

In the fall of 1884, the Malden Young Men's Christian Association took form. After surmounting most of the difficulties that seem to beset such an organization, it incorporated October 12, 1888, and within five years ranked as the eighth in size in the Commonwealth. It has today a plant valued at close to $200,000, and is one of the most forward-looking social and helpful institutions of the county. There are also, the Young Men's Hebrew Association; The Young Women's Hebrew Association; the Midvedifka Association; the Girl's Club Association, among others.

**Marlborough**—The rapid growth of this city as an industrial center

led to the establishment of the Marlborough Hospital in 1890. From the small plant and single physician, the equipment of the institution has risen to $137,764, twenty are employed and 1,384 were given hospital treatment in 1925. Dr. Carmillus T. Warner was president; Frederick L. Claffin, treasurer. The Marlborough Women's Club incorporated in 1922, is a successor of earlier Ladies' Societies, and works for the interests of the town in many philanthropies. The Marlborough Community Service is more definitely interested in the social and charitable needs of the municipality. The Unitarian Charitable Society is the third of these organizations, interested in philanthropy.

**Medford**—The Sarah Fuller Home for Little Deaf Children, started in a most inconspicuous way some time before its incorporation in 1888. It never has cared for any large number, but the total number of deaf children receiving a home and education must add up to two hundred. Equipment and real estate now amount to $147,000. In 1920, Miss Sarah Fuller was president; Robert Hallowell, treasurer. The Medford Home for the Aged, incorporated in 1901, supplies a home for from 13 to 15 needy old folk who have been residents of Medford ten or more years and have reached the age of sixty-five.

The Medford Visiting Nurses Association was formed in 1909 for the purpose of supplying trained nursing in the homes of the dependent. Lawrence Memorial Hospital, the largest of the philanthropic institutions in the city, has a plant valued at nearly $600,000, and gives hospital service to 1200 yearly.

**Melrose** has two large institutions of which it is justly proud. The elder, the Melrose Hospital Association, formed in 1893 for the purpose of providing the town with a modern hospital, started in the rooms of a private house, but has now a plant valued at $250,000. Current expenses seldom range below $100,000 ($106,618 in 1925) and the number receiving hospital care was, in that same year, 2,248. Ashton L. Carr was president; Mrs. Frank Brown, secretary; Frank M. Hoyt, treasurer.

The Fitch Home, incorporated in 1920, is a non-sectarian home for the elderly. The real estate owned in 1925 was reported as $196,825. An average of fifteen persons find residence in the establishment, and many are aided outside. Wallace R. Lovett is president; Frank M. Hoyt, secretary; Edward J. Kitching, treasurer.

**Natick**—The Leonard Morse Hospital, established legally in 1916, is Natick's main provision for the treatment of the sick. John B. Leamy is president of the institution; Ralph Speedwell, secretary; Frank C. Bishop, treasurer. In 1925, $72,516 was expended in the work of the hospital and 1,186 were received. The value of the plant is reported as $335,305.

The Maria Hayes Home for Aged Persons, incorporated in 1904, was established under the provisions of the will of Maria Hayes to secure to Natick a place where old persons might spend their declining years in peace and comfort. John B. Leamy is president; Francis C. Perry, treasurer.

The Natick Visiting Nurses Association, formed in 1914, gives nursing service to those of limited means, as well as instruction in home nursing and hygienic living. Mrs. F. Arthur Young is president.

**Newton**—As a suburb of Boston, made up of no fewer than eleven settlements, Newton has always been a center of many philanthropic and other organizations. As the seat of the Baptist Theological Seminary, and of strong departments of other denominations, some of the earliest of the humanitarian societies were religious and denominational in character. There was a Wesleyan Home founded in 1883 intended for the orphan and destitute. Later its scope was enlarged to embrace the care of children of Methodist missionaries working in foreign lands.

In 1880, a Baptist Missionary Home was established in Newton Centre by the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, for children of the foreign missionaries of that denomination. Earlier by many years, 1868, was the Home for Foreign Missionaries, started as a private enterprise by Mrs. Eliza H. Walker, widow of a missionary to Turkey. From this, under the management of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has come the Walker Home, in Auburndale, caring for the children of missionaries and giving a home for missionaries on furlough from foreign fields. In 1925, 326 benefited by this institution, which has a nation-wide reputation.

Children seem to engage the attention of the philanthropist in the Newtons, rather more than at any other place in the county. The largest of this class, probably the greatest in the county, is the New England Peabody Home for Crippled Children which has a plant valued at $1,560,000, and which disbursed in its work, in 1925, $136,363. The institution was incorporated in 1894, and has its headquarters in Boston.

In 1866, there was established in the buildings of the old Newton Female Academy, by Rebecca R. Pomeroy, a home for destitute children. The Academy burned shortly after, but the work was continued by Mrs. Pomeroy on Hovey Street, Newton. Friends came to her aid, and in 1884, the Rebecca Pomeroy Home for Orphan Girls was incorporated, which has since become one of the most valuable of its kind. Charles A. Haskell is president; Oliver Fisher, treasurer.

One of the older organizations for the help of the young, was the Pine Farm School of 1864. It was intended as a school for the waifs of the streets of Boston, and had a long and honorable career. Somewhat

of a successor to the old school is the Working Boy's Home at Newton Highlands, incorporated in 1884, which looks after homeless and wayward boys. On the average, 100 boys are cared for annually. His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell is president and treasurer. The Boys' Welfare League is of recent origin.

Newton was without an institution for the care of the ill, until the Cottage Hospital was started in 1880. It was so called because it, like many another of the early hospitals, was an ordinary cottage taken over for hospital purposes. It later became the Newton Hospital with the present fine plant; treatment is given to about 6,000 yearly (5,950 in 1925). William C. Bray is president of the association; Alonzo R. Weed, secretary; Stanley M. Bolster, treasurer. The Newton Hospital Aid Society was formed in 1885, and has been one of the main forces in bringing the hospital to its present successful place.

The Newton District Visiting Nursing Association, incorporated in 1901, furnishes trained nursing to the sick poor in their homes, and gives instruction in wholesome living. Mrs. H. P. Converse is president; Mrs. Charles Gardiner, secretary; Mrs. Charles L. Smith, treasurer.

For the encouragement of coöperation among individuals and organizations in charitable work, the Newton Welfare Bureau was formed in 1915. George M. Angier is president; Mrs. Carrie A. Hull, general superintendent.

Among the homes for the aged is the Stone Institute and Newton Home for Aged People at Upper Newton Falls. It is run under the usual restrictions as to residency, age (65) and condition. The Home is large and valuable ($339,243). Charles E. Riley is president; Albert P. Carter, secretary; Henry Bailey, treasurer. There were 25 inmates in 1925.

The Governor John A. Andrew Home Association, although dating only from 1910 is named after the Governor of the State during the Civil War. It is a home for veterans of the Civil War, their wives and widows. There were twenty in the Home in 1925. Mrs. Lucy Stuart Wadsworth was president in 1920; Mrs. Ella B. Jones, secretary; Wilfred A. Wetherbee, treasurer.

Of a different character, but doing a beneficent work are the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The former was one of the first in the State to be organized, when in 1877 a few men joined hands in an endeavor to supplement the work of the churches. George S. Harwood was the first president, George S. Trowbridge, vice-president; George C. Dunne, treasurer. The present plant is valued at $159,343; the number of members and those benefited, 2,000.

In a place with which so many of the earliest incidents of the history of Massachusetts are associated, several societies have been formed

from time to time, whose partial object was the preservation of past records, places and things. The Historical Society of today is one of these organizations.

The Lucy Jackson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, incorporated in 1917, collects historical documents, protects historic places, and endeavors to foster patriotism. Mrs. Frederick J. Fessenden is president; Mrs. Caroline W. Gill, secretary; Mrs. Frank A. Sherman, treasurer.

The Twombly House in Newton Upper Falls was incorporated in 1917 to engage in social work in Newton, and to establish a house as a center of charitable and philanthropic work. Mrs. Arthur S. Hilton is at the head of this service. The West Newton Day Nursery, founded in 1908, cares for children while their mothers are at work. Mrs. George A. Frost is president. Among the foreign charities are the Senoj Lodge Associates, which helps working girls to secure inexpensive vacations; and the Swedish Charitable Society, dating from 1907, which provides classes and clubs for girls and boys between the ages of six and sixteen, and classes and recreation clubs for women.

A full list of the organizations in Newton is given in Chapter XXV.

**Reading**—The principal philanthropic institution of Reading is the Home for Aged Women, founded in 1893, which gives an abiding place to a number of the older former residents of the town. The Home is valued at $28,340. Mrs. Emily Palmer is president; Miss Clara L. Carter, secretary; Mrs. Ann N. Parker, treasurer.

The Reading Visiting Nurse Association dates from 1914, and provides a nurse to the needy in Reading. Mrs. Elizabeth H. Brown is president, Miss Laura Gordon, secretary; Mrs. Carrie F. Stinchfield, treasurer.

**Sherborn**—One of the oldest institutions of its character is the Sherborn Widows' and Orphans' Benevolent Society founded in 1859.

It was established at a time when the almshouse was the only place to which the indigent could go. Calvin P. Sanger gave a large sum, the income of which was to be expended for the "indigent widows and orphans . . . who though reduced to necessitous circumstances, would shrink from a resort to the town for aid." Other gifts have been made since the first, the home now having an estate worth ten thousand dollars. Mrs. I. F. Porter is president; I. L. Smart, secretary; Mrs. R. H. Leland, treasurer.

**Shirley**—The one incorporated benevolent society of the town is the Altrurian Club.

**Somerville**—The rapid growth of the city, particularly in recent years

has brought to the fore many benevolent agencies. The Associated Charities was formed as a clearing house for the benevolences of Somerville. The Visiting Nursing Association was started in 1906 to solve the problem of giving the poor competent nursing and instruction in the ways of health. Mrs. Samuel Foss is president. The Somerville Home for the Aged dates from 1898, and is the wealthiest of the institutions of the city. A number of the old are cared for. Mrs. Charles A. Haven is president; Mrs. Bertha W. Kaan, treasurer.

Industrial accidents showed the need of a hospital, and the Somerville Hospital resulted as an answer to this need in 1891. Treatment is given to more than 3,000 yearly. George A. Lovejoy is president; Frank R. Nickerson, secretary; Henry C. Wiley, treasurer. The Somerville Children's Home and Day Nursery was founded in 1896, and maintains a home for destitute children, caring for them and giving them an education. Fred E. Durgin is president; Meyer H. Sackett, secretary; Arthur E. Keating, treasurer.

The Hutchinson Home Corporation for Aged Women was established in 1913, and works along the same lines as the other home already mentioned, being a branch of it.

The Young Men's Christian Association of Somerville is nearly forty-five years old. Its property is valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars.

A complete list of the philanthropic institutions of Somerville includes: The American Red Cross; B'nai B'rith Sisterhood; Somerville Associated Charities; Somerville Catholic Charities Center; Somerville Federation for Community Service; Somerville Visiting Nursing Association. Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Associations, which include, the St. Ann's, St. Catherine's and St. Joseph's branches; The Woman's Auxiliary, Women's Relief Corps and Willard C. Kingsley Relief Corps, No. 21, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

**Stoneham** has the Home for Aged People and the Stoneham Visiting Nurse Association, incorporated in 1919. Mrs. Nellie K. Patch is president; Mrs. Mary W. Souther, treasurer.

**Stow** is the seat of the well-known Red Acre Farm Corporation which annually aids more than a hundred, and at present possesses property to the value of $104,828.

**Wakefield**—In one of the pleasantest of locations in the town is the Elizabeth E. Boit Home for Aged Women, founded in 1894. The name was formerly the Wakefield Home, but was changed to the present designation in honor of the principal benefactor of the Home in later years. It is a home for Protestant former residents of the town, who are over

sixty years of age. Mrs. Beatrice Green is president; Mrs. Mary E. Gowing, secretary; Mrs. Carrie I. Wilder, treasurer. The Wakefield Visiting Nurses Association, established in 1914, is the principal agency in the place for teaching methods of improved sanitation and the supplying of competent nursing in the homes of the needy. Mrs. Eva G. Ripley is president.

Among other church, charitable and benevolent societies of Wakefield are: Hebrew Charitable Society; Men's Clubs of the First Parish, Universalist, and Methodist Churches; St. Joseph's Catholic Association; Sweetser Charity Committee; Wakefield Catholic Club; and the Young Men's Christian Association and its Ladies' Auxiliary.

**Waltham**—Leland Home for the Aged was the first incorporated of the institutions of Waltham. Founded in 1879 upon the bequest of the man whose name it bears, it has cared for nearly a hundred of the aged during its career of forty-seven years. John L. Harvey is president of the board; R. Earl Eichler, treasurer.

The Waltham Baby Hospital, founded in 1902, fills an unique place in the community in providing care for sick babies, and also for babies who need it by reason of sickness, death or any other incapacity of their parents. In 1925, 676 children were benefited by the ministration of the hospital. Mrs. G. E. Jordan is president. The Waltham Day Nursery was incorporated in 1912. The Waltham District Nursing Association provides the needy sick with competent nursing. Mrs. Henry A. Wood is president of the organization; Mrs. Charles W. Pierce, secretary and treasurer.

The Waltham Social Service League was established in 1914, to promote coöperation among societies and individuals; to study the needs of applicants for aid; to develop self-help and diminish pauperism. Dr. C. Benjamin Butler is president; Mrs. Grace C. Brown, general secretary.

The Waltham Hospital was opened for patients in 1885, in a dwelling house. The Mt. Prospect School is of recent origin, but has a plant valued at $142,551.

Other benevolent and civic organizations in Waltham are: Hospitals, St. Elizabeth's Farm, and the Maternity; Waltham Branch of the American Red Cross Society; Asbury Temple Association; Isola Filienda; Margaret Brebt Civic Guild; Middlesex County Extension Service; Civic League for Immigrants; Waltham Animal Aid Society; Waltham Mutual Aid Association; Waltham Social Service League; Waltham Factory Mutual Relief Association.

**Watertown**—Wonderfully situated within ample grounds by the Charles River, is one of the most noted of the beneficent of the Massachusetts charities, the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts School for the Blind.

The Commonwealth has always been rather backward in its care of the blind. Not until 1819 was there any provision for them by law, and at this time it was only to provide for the boarding of a few selected cases in the Hartford Asylum. The blind who might benefit by this law had to share their chances with the deaf and the dumb. Down to 1865 the State had expended in forty-one years only $306,000 for all these classes. The Perkins Institute started wholly as a private charity, being incorporated in 1829. The State now has supervision over the school, appoints four trustees, and contributes about a third of the expenses. Nearly four million dollars is invested in the plant and equipment, coming under three corporations: The School for the Blind, $1,746,246; Kindergarten for the Blind, $2,033,000; and the Howe Memorial Fund, $174,012.

The School for the Blind gives its attention to the education of boys and girls of school age who, through lack of sight, cannot obtain an education through ordinary methods of the public schools. The Kindergarten assumes the care and training of little children of educatable age and mentality as preliminary to education in the Perkins Institute. The Howe Memorial Press Fund attends to the production and distribution of books and appliances which may be supplied to the blind at actual cost or less. It is an adjunct of the Institute. In 1925, there were 188 in the Perkins Institute; 119 in the Kindergarten; from the Howe Fund, books had been supplied to nearly 1,000, and appliances distributed to twice that number of persons. Edward E. Allen is the secretary and general director of the great institution.

Watertown has its full quota of local philanthropic organizations. These, for the most part are working with the Associated Charities, incorporated in 1879, as that organization puts it, "To prevent pauperism." Jarvis B. Keene is president of this society. The Watertown District Nursing Association was established in 1905 to provide the sick of limited means with trained nurses. Mrs. Alice G. Abbott is at the head.

The Watertown Home for Old Folks dates from 1908, and gives a home to a number of the old. The officers of the Home are: Wesley E. Monk, president; Harvey Lucas, secretary; Harry H. Brigham, treasurer.

**Winchester**—The Visiting Nurse Association is the outstanding civic and charitable society in Winchester. Organizing in 1906, work was begun, not only in giving the poor trained nursing in their homes, but to supply for all a hospital with all that it means. In the two decades that have passed since the establishment of the Association and the present, a fund and estate have been secured with a valuation of $285,062. In 1925, 1,495 were ministered to by the Society's service.

The Home for Aged People in Winchester, dating from 1894, gives a home to a number of former Winchester residents. Preston Pond is president; Charles Harris, secretary; F. N. Hawley, treasurer.

The Winchester Hebrew Benevolent Association is of recent origin.

**Woburn**—The Charles Choate Memorial Hospital, conducted by the incorporated Woburn Charitable Association, has been in the service of the community since 1908. It had its start in the generosity of Mrs. Martha P. Johnson, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Choate, and the granddaughter, Mrs. Helen O. Sprague, who offered the Choate estate for charitable purposes. More than $10,000 was contributed by the townspeople at the time of the organization of the Hospital Association which became the trustees of the estate. Many bequests have come to the Choate Memorial since its inception, and during the World War, large sums were contributed by the citizens of the town to meet the increased demands made on the institution at that period. The officers are: President, Elmer E. Silver; Secretary, Edward N. Leighton; Treasurer, Edward Johnson.

There has been a Home for the Aged in Woburn since 1887. The Winning Home, was, in 1920, being used as a vacation home in connection with the South End House Association. The Home with furnishings and grounds is valued at $53,029. Edward Merriam was president of the organization having it in charge.

PUBLIC SQUARE, SHOWING STATE STREET AND SITE OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
ABOUT 1817—WATERTOWN

## CHAPTER XX

### THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT.

The people of Massachusetts are supposed to be less concerned with religion, particularly with its theological aspects, than were the worthies of the former days. Education, culture, industry, politics, all are supposed to loom large on the horizon of the modern inhabitant of our State and county. Joseph Cook said, in 1878: "The first New England was a church; the second New England is to be a factory." There is no reason for thinking he was wrong in his prediction. Massachusetts, and that part of it called Middlesex County, is most thoroughly industrial in its interests, although not negligent of other things. But there can be little understanding of the early history of the county, if it is not realized that religion came first with the Puritans that settled it. The pioneers derived their very name from the attitude they bore toward the church of their native land. They came to our shores to secure a freedom to worship God as they pleased. They were not poor, if we except the Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth; they were not uneducated; they did not come, primarily, to better their conditions physically. Many of them were successful merchants, owners of large estates, or professional men of prominence in England. Enough was known about the country this side of the Atlantic to make them realize that it would only be after a long, hard and severe struggle that they could reëstablish themselves as comfortably as they had been at home. But they were religiously inclined; God and the worship of Him meant more than most else in life. And, being willing to give up, for the privilege of having access to Him in their own way, they left a well developed familiar land to settle in a raw strange wilderness where comforts were few and dangers many.

The government they set up on this side of the globe was not a democracy so much as it was a theocracy. The model was the Old Testament one, with God as the sovereign; the officials, the clergy or the religious. Religion was married to the state, and they were one in a true Biblical sense. The first large building erected, once they had arrived at their chosen location, was a church. This edifice was also the town hall in which the meetings were held for the guidance of the settlement in the mundane affairs of life. This use of one place for both ecclesiastical and civic rule and meeting, continued in some parts of Middlesex for more than a century and a half. What must be of more import,

is, that for almost as long a time, the town government was responsible for the support of the ministry, collected his salary, saw that he had one, built him a house, and enforced many of his ideas.

**Earlier Churches**—After the first settlements became established, there came a branching out, a scattering of the pioneers in the nearby regions. Because of a desire to keep together out of fear of the Indian, these new settlements were made by groups who built their houses as close together as was practical, even though the farm might extend some distance away. Following in the footsteps of the founders, one of the first desires was to have a "Meeting-house" of their own, and a minister as well. To have both these, some provision had to be made for the building of the church and the support of the minister. Usually while this new group was weak and not yet self-supporting, it was set up as a parish of the larger place; later it was constituted a town. The organization of the parish or town as a separate government was necessary, because only by the creation of a political as well as religious parish could a small group have both church and minister. The individual became a member of this parish willy-nilly, no matter what his religious views; each resident of the town was taxed to support the church. The first thing considered at a town meeting was the church, after that, education, roads, or any other secular need. The division of the county into towns, town government and the town meeting, which has spread all over the United States, grew out of this simple desire of the Puritans to have religious services, and to provide for them.

The minister of the colonial time was usually the principal man of the settlement. He taught not only the heavenly way of living, but an earthly one as well. He was the educator of the settlement, able to give instruction in the three R's as well as in the "dead languages." The schoolhouse was either the minister's home, or a building erected along side the meeting-house. He was often the doctor, or was more learned in the medical science of his time than the physician. Some of the innovations in medicine were advocated and introduced by the clergy, as inoculation against smallpox by Increase Mather. Knowledge of our New England ancestors, and of the story of their day, would be sadly lacking if it were not for the minister, for he was the historian of the community. As Drake points out, "New England annals would indeed be meagre, but for the efforts of Hubbard, Prince, the Mathers, Belnap, and Gordon."

The Puritan minister was the important man of his day, and, despite the secular tone of modern life, the minister of today is a man of influence, a leader, not only in religion but in civic and social affairs, in education, culture and charities, a moulder of public opinion, of great

influence in local government. He is a worthy descendant of the Puritan dominie. The union of state and religion has long since become a thing of the past, but the union of religion and civic duty is still the ideal, an ideal which still shapes the political policy of the Middlesex town to a far greater extent than is commonly realized. The minister is no longer the boss of the town, he has not the supervision of its people and business that he had formerly. He no longer teaches the youth of the community, nor does he treat with medicine their physical ailments. But the church and its clergy are still factors in the various phases of civic and educational life of the town; "they supply a conserving and ethical force which is lacking in states more recently added to the Union, whose founders were more purely commercial and utilitarian in their motives of settlement, states where the educational systems, from the start, have been chiefly secular in aim."

George P. Morris, in the book, "New England," emphasizes this idea when he writes: "Moreover the religion of Massachusetts now bears, and will bear, whatever changes may come, the impress of that emphasis on ethics which has characterized it from the first. The Pilgrim or Puritan was a theologian, but also a setter-up of the Kingdom of God on earth. Roger Williams revolted against emphasis on creed above deed. Jonathan Edwards left his church at Northampton because he was not supported in an effort to discipline its sinners, and as a reformer of the Puritan polity he stood for a regenerate church membership. Jonathan Mayhew preached the liberty from tyranny, that Sam Adams organized against in the town meetings. Channing and his contemporaries among Unitarians, and Beecher and Bushnell among Orthodox Congregationalists, labored for a theology that was in harmony with the highest ethical ideals of men. The anti-slavery propaganda of Garrison and Phillips, Parker and Emerson, ultimately forced New England churches to hatred of slavery and support of a war that put an end to it; and out of all the clashings of Puritans and Quakers, Calvinists and Arminians, Trinitarians and Unitarians, Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Conservatives and Radicals in religion and politics, which Massachusetts has seen, has emerged the ideal of free thought, free speech, and toleration of many points of view; an attitude which has become ingrained and chronic, and that today makes Massachusetts a singularly attractive place of residence for persons who elsewhere have suffered from tyranny or cramping environment. The result is a measure of present amity between former foes and historically hostile faiths which is unprecedented, while at the same time there is a candor in expressing diverse points of view without diminishing personal and sectarian good-will which is surest proof of the high measure of civilization to which the section has attained."

It is not necessary to go into any detail concerning the difficulties that have arisen from time to time between the clashing ideas of the various denominations that are now represented in Middlesex County. Some of these clashes re-acted badly upon governmental life of the country. Opposition to the Quaker and the Arminian had much to do with the loss of the charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the change of the control of Colony to that of a Province. The change was hated because the freedom of self-rule was taken away, but it was resistance to the Crown rule of the Province that led to the Revolution and the greater freedom of the United States. So, too, in the early eighteen hundreds, the Unitarian and Trinitarian controversy led to the division of most of the Congregational churches into separate bodies, but it also led to the separation of the church and State in local government, so was not an unmixed disaster.

The freedom of religious thought that has grown up out of the various theological difficulties, has been the means of drawing within the borders of the State and county many peoples of diverse faiths and races. The freedom sought by the Puritan has been tendered to others, and religions very unlike dwell amicably together. The most numerous church people in Middlesex is no longer the original denomination which was founded here. The Roman Catholic outnumbers any other one church. Its growth is due, principally, to the immigration from Ireland and Canada encouraged by the religious and broad-minded New Englander of Puritan stock. And, unlike most of the places where Catholicism is now found abroad, the Catholic has been allowed to develop as he would without interference by an exercise of authority by the State, or any "hostile assault of secularism." It is doubtful whether there is any locality the size of Middlesex where this church has made a more rapid increase, not merely in numbers, but in education, philanthropic and practical religious activities. Other migrations into the county have greatly influenced and changed the character of its churches. The Scotch, and the Canadian (Protestant) have been coming in increased numbers since the beginning of this century, and there has been an increased growth and strength shown in Presbyterianism, which never has been a strong denomination in the county. So too, in a minor degree, have the large numbers of Catholics of other than the named nationalities, both Roman and Orthodox Greek; Orthodox Jews from Russia and other foreign countries; Lutherans, and others, not to mention religions originating nearer home, such as the Christian Science Church founded by Mary Baker Eddy in 1879, have so greatly increased the numbers and varieties of our county churches, that there is probably no major denomination that is not represented here, and but few minor ones.

One interesting phase of the religious development in the county is the breaking down of sectional lines within denominations, and the drawing together of parts which had long been separated. The Baptists and Free Baptists are no longer so wide apart as formerly; there is a growing amity between Presbyterians of differing ideas; and the ancient feud between the Trinitarian and Unitarian Congregationalists is on the wane. In some cases this drawing together is because the issues that once separated the parts are no longer of importance. In others it is the simple fact that in union there is strength, strength for the denomination which is non-ritualistic to hold its own in a section where ritualism is becoming increasingly strong, or strength to hold its own in a community whose numbers have been depleted by the movement from the rural regions to the cities. There are villages in Middlesex where six churches were striving to keep alive, where there is a population of less than a hundred. Not only are the denominations strengthening their positions in the rural sections, but denominations are meeting together and letting down church lines, so that there may be fewer but stronger churches. Along religious educational lines these same forces are operating. Institutions under the control of one denomination have thrown away denominational restrictions; organizations supported by one church are now cared for by churches of several different faiths. Even the theological seminary is not unaffected, the seminary of one denomination being affiliated with the college or university of another. Charles William Eliot, as president of Harvard University, in 1880 brought about the change of Harvard Divinity School, which was Unitarian, to one not denominational, thereby antedating by a number of years similar action at Union Seminary in New York City, and at the University of Chicago. "He fostered the plan of establishing in Cambridge a Summer School of Theology, which was first held in 1899." It was at this school that he outlined his "The Religion of the Future," which is probably the most notable contribution to religious literature made by a layman for many years.

**Early History Three Religious Societies**—There is no need of going into the history of the churches in the different towns of Middlesex, since this has been told in the story of each town. But, as a side light on the early religious history of the Massachusetts settlements in the district that is now Middlesex three will be mentioned here. Two because they are the stories of the formation of the first two churches in the county, although dissimilar in their organization and later development; the third because it was unlike the formation of any other church and town in Middlesex; the three being Watertown, Cambridge and Natick.

Watertown is not only the oldest town in Middlesex County but the mother of other towns which showed the likeness of their parent in the organization of their church and town government, which was of rather a different and more independent character than most others. On July 30, 1630, Sir Richard Saltonstall, who had come over with Winthrop, together with forty other men, formed the first church in Watertown. This was the third church formed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, only Salem and Dorchester preceding it. Rev. George Phillips was chosen pastor and Richard Browne ruling elder. Evidently a meeting-house was built immediately, although there are no records extant giving either date or place. In 1635 taxes were being levied to pay for a *new* meeting-house, indicating that there was one then in use and being out-grown, perhaps. Watertown was, for several years at least, the metropolis of Massachusetts Bay Colony, the most densely populated. Even in 1657, it was second only to Boston in numbers of residents, and in wealth, and was called "the mart of the land."

The covenant into which the members of this first church of Middlesex entered is worthy of re-printing as showing the spirit of the Puritans, and the trend of their ideas for their new land. It is as follows:

We, whose names are hereto subscribed, having, through God's mercy, escaped out of the Pollutions of the world, & been taken into the Society of his People, with all thankfulness do hereby both with heart & hand acknowledge, that his gracious goodness & fatherly care towards us; & for further & more full declaration thereof, to the present and future ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his glory & the Church's good, and the honor of our blessed Jesus, in our more full and free subjecting of ourselves & ours, under his gracious government, in the practice & obedience unto all his holy ordinances & orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous voyage from East to West, from old England in Europe, to New England in America; that we may walk before him, and serve him without fear in holiness & righteousness, all the days of our lives, & being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special providence, that we may bring forth our intentions into actions, & perfect our resolutions, in the beginnings of some just and meet executions; we have separated the day above written from all other services, and dedicated it wholly to the Lord in divine employments, for a day of afflicting our souls, & humbling ourselves before the Lord, to seek him, & at his hands, a way to walk in, by fasting & prayer, that we might know what was good in his sight; and the Lord was intreated of us. For in the end of that day, after the finishing of our public duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly & with all our hearts, personally, man by man for ourselves & ours (charging them before Christ & his elect angels, even them that are not here with us this day, or yet are unborn, that they keep the promise unblamably and faithfully unto the Coming of our Lord Jesus) promise, & enter into a sure covenant with the Lord our God, & before him with one another, by oath & serious protestation made to denounce all idolatry and superstition, will-worship, all humane traditions & inventions whatsoever in the worship of God, & forsaking all evil ways, do give ourselves wholly unto the

Lord Jesus, to do him faithful service, observing and keeping all his statutes, commands & ordinances, in all matters concerning our reformation; his worship, administrations, ministry & government; & in the carriage of ourselves, among ourselves & one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his holy word. Further swearing to cleave unto that alone, & the true sense & meaning thereof to the utmost of our power, as unto the most clear light & infallible rule, & all-sufficient canon in all things that concern us in this our way. In witness of all, we do *ex animo*, & in the presence of God, hereto set our names or marks, in the day & year above written.

This, in addition to being a religious covenant among church members, was also the outline of a theocratic government, but one not in harmony with the Puritan theocracy as that theocracy developed under the guidance of Winthrop and his Board of Assistants or judges. And in its working-out this covenant did not hold its subscribers to the ecclesiastical exclusiveness, or dogmatism that later ruled the Colony. A year had not passed before the church, or the town, for they were one in polity, was in disagreement with Winthrop and the Assistants. A tax was levied for the fortifying of the Newtown line. Watertown had not been consulted in this matter. A church meeting was held, at which it was voted to refuse the paying of the tax, with the result a change was made in the laws by which taxes should be raised. Thereafter "two of each plantation (were) to be appointed to confer with the Court about raising a Public stock." As one has put it: "This was the origin of representative government on this continent. The lineal and legitimate results of the action taken by the church of Watertown in 1631 came in the Boston Tea Party, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States." It was at least the first manifestation of the idea that the folk of the New World did not like "taxation without representation."

From the religious side, this first church in Middlesex is interesting for the independence of their churchly ideas and control. There seems to have been little of the hair-splitting in theology, fewer doctrinal rules than was usual at that day, and a broader and freer church government. Possibly much of this was due to the broad-minded liberal-spirited leader who became their first pastor, George Phillips. His views, and probably those of his people, were reflected in the action taken at the ordination of John Knowles in 1639. This man was set apart to the Christian ministry without any leave being asked of any other church. No other religious body was even notified, nor did the minister from any other church have any part in the ordination ceremonies, nor was any council of churches called to sanction the act. To this Watertown Church must be given the credit of being the first strictly Congregational society in America, as their procedure was the first "clear assertion of Congregationalism on this side of the ocean."

It is not to be supposed that during the later life of the church, its independence of thought and action was not challenged, nor that it did not meet with opposition and condemnation. But that it started in a unique way and well, in a way that was prophetic of the typical church government of later times, cannot be denied. Since so much of its novel foundation was due to its leader, perhaps a brief biography of the first pastor is not out of place here.

George Phillips was born at Raymond, Norfolk, England. Educated at the University (probably Cambridge, since so many of the Puritans were graduated from this famous school), he early showed uncommon talents for the ministry and the study of theology. He first settled at Boxstead in Suffolk, but soon was suspected of a tendency to Nonconformity, and resigned his pastorate to come with the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in 1630. He landed at Salem, where his wife died soon after, but soon joined "that excellent Knight, Sir Richard Saltonstall... and other Christians... at Watertown, they resolved they would combine in church fellowship as their *first* work; and build the house of God before they could build homes for themselves." In this first parish in Middlesex, Phillips was eminently successful. "A man of firmness and independence in thought and action, he was capable of maintaining his views with ample learning, and a vigorous and convincing logic;" though, in several respects in advance of his times, the nobility of his character, the candor and courtesy of his manner, and the force of his mind secured and kept the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens." He died July 1, 1644, lamented by the Colony-at-large. More honor should be given to him than ever has been, as one of the founders, if not the first founder, of representative government in America.

Cambridge, while it may not claim to have had the first church in Massachusetts, or even in Middlesex County, has a number of "firsts" to its credit, for it was the first capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the seat of the first University, and the first place to owe its name for its prominence in the "pursuit of letters." If we except the church formed in Charlestown in 1630, and later moved to Boston, the Cambridge church was the first of the regular Puritan churches, which practiced the typical Puritan polity, subscribed to the usual Puritan theology, and clung close to the orthodoxy of its day. There seems to have been less of independence, a more rigid conservatism, more of formalism in its worship than in the Watertown congregation.

Charlestown, once a part of Middlesex County, was the first location of the larger Puritan immigration led by John Winthrop. But conditions not proving suitable there, in the dispersal which followed, a

settlement was made, intended to be the capital of the new government, which was called Newtowne, 1631. The Braintree Company, which had located at Mt. Wollaston, was moved to the new town, where they were soon joined by their noted minister, Thomas Hooker. This man, born in Leicestershire, England, in 1586, was a graduate and Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and had begun to preach soon after leaving the University. He believed in the doctrines of the State church but would not conform to their ceremonies. In 1630 he was "silenced" for non-conformity, being too prominent a preacher to be overlooked in the persecution of that day. He stopped preaching, trying to be of Christian service in private ways, but was again condemned and under a bond of 50 pounds required to appear for trial before Laud's High Commission. On the advice of friends he forfeited his bond, crossed to Holland, and continued his ministry for three years. Again, at the persuasion of friends, he moved, this time coming to America, accompanied by John Cotton, who at once became the minister of the Charlestown church then in Boston, and Samuel Stone, who was his associate in Cambridge and other places. On the 11th of October, 1633, as recounted by Winthrop, a "fast was held at Newtown, where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone, teacher, in such a manner as before at Boston." The church that gathered about the new pastor was the eighth to be organized in Massachusetts, but the date of its foundation is not known.

Samuel Stone was a Hertford Englishman, also a graduate of Emmanuel College, and, for a time, a minister at Towcester, in Northamptonshire, where he had made a name for himself by his ability. Nonconformity had brought him into the bad graces of the authorities of the Established Church, leading him to seek broader fields in this country. The two found the bounds of Cambridge too limited, Hooker alleging it was "a fundamental error that towns were set so near to each other." Together they sought new pastures, moving to Connecticut, Winthrop's account of the removal being: "Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown, and the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horse litter, and they drove 160 cattle and fed of their milk on the way."

Although Hooker's stay in Cambridge was short, his influence was very great, and he is said to have done more in the formulating of the rules of government by which both church and colony were guided than any other one man. Although objecting to the condition that had grown up in England out of the union of state and religion, he encouraged a somewhat like union here, the main difference being that ceremonies of an elaborate order were forbidden.

Towcester, England, was the birthplace of the man who was to be

the successor of Hooker in Cambridge, for it was there on November 5, 1605, that Thomas Shepherd was born. Emmanuel was his college, as it was the college of Hooker, Stone, John Harvard and others who influenced the ecclesiastical life of Cambridge and the Colony. A Puritan from the beginning of his scholastic career, he was hounded out of England and, reaching Boston, October 3, 1635, he moved almost at once to "Newtowne" and joined Hooker, an old friend. Upon the latter's removal to Connecticut, Shepherd took up the work left, those coming on the same vessel with him taking over the homes left vacant by the migrants to the sister colony. This Shepherd company numbered about sixty persons. The covenant of this Cambridge church has not been preserved, but from later documents, and the part taken in the later government and religious activities of the Colony, it is evident that conservatism ruled, and the influence exerted that the orthodox ideas of Puritanism controlled. There was little of the independence of thought and doctrine seen in the neighboring Watertown church. As is to be expected of a church in the foremost University city of this country, the pastors of that society have been men of more than usual ability. Probably no church in Middlesex County has had such a succession of cultured ministers, nor ones who had more to do with the moulding of the religious and cultural and civic life of the Commonwealth.

A third church worthy of special mention, is so, not because of its earliness, or the important place it occupied in the religious and town progress of the early colony, but because it is unique in being the outgrowth of a great experiment in connection with the Indian, and the town that was formed about it was the only civil division of Middlesex which had its rise as an Indian settlement. The charter given to the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1630, stated that one of the objects desired by the Company was the moral, mental and physical improvement of the aboriginal owners of the country. This object seems to have been forgotten upon a better acquaintance with the savage, and it was not until 1646 that any action was taken by the General Court looking to this end, when the matter was referred to the pastors of the various churches then organized.

Most reforms owe their inception to the work of a single enthusiast and the evangelization of the Indians is no exception to this rule. John Eliot, later known as "The Apostle to the Indians" was the man. He was a Cambridge, England, student and another of those who were associated with Thomas Hooker, having been taken into the latter's family. A Non-conformist, he was not allowed to teach in his native land and immigrated to New England. Landing in 1631, at Boston, he settled in Roxbury, becoming the pastor of the church there, Novem-

ber 5, 1632. This pastorate he held until his death on May 20, 1690. About 1641, he began the study of Indian dialects in preparation for work among them, securing the services of an English-speaking Indian to teach him the tongue of the Mohegan, the dialect spoken by most of the Massachusetts tribes. He was a brilliant student, but it was five years before he tried to preach to the savages in their native language, his first Indian discourse being delivered at Nonantum, October 28, 1646. Nonantum was an Indian village, settled mostly by the followers of one Waban, who had moved there from Concord, the village being in the northeast part of the present Newton.

Eliot had the temporal needs of the Indian in his mind, and had encouraged the savages to cultivate the land after the fashion of the white, and to live in huts more after the English fashion. They were taught to farm; the men fencing and draining the land and taking its products with those to be gathered in the swamps and woods, to the white settlements for sale. The squaws were relieved of some of the drudgery of their former existence, taught to spin and sew, make brooms, baskets and other articles of commerce. Eliot established settlements not only here but in Concord, Stoughton, Grafton, Marlborough, Ashland, Lowell and other places, until at the height of his work, there were villages of "Praying Indians," as his followers came to be called, in fourteen different places.

These villages were little more than improved Indian camps, and seldom housed more than a few natives. Some of them were close to the settlements of the English, and the Indian was more inclined to take up the bad customs and habits of the white than he was of the good. Eliot, realizing that failure was to be his portion if he had to continue the civilizing of the Indian under such great disadvantages, petitioned the Court to set off a section to belong wholly to the Aborigine. The place selected was seventeen miles west of Boston on the Charles River, and the Praying Indians were invited to come and make their homes there, 1650. Legal title to the land was not secured until later.

Here, as was usual in all the settlements made by the Massachusetts Bay Company, a church was the first large building erected. This was a two-story structure in English style, fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide and twelve high, and was to serve as a schoolhouse as well as church. The Indians were encouraged to adopt the customs of the English as much as was possible, and an able teacher himself gave much of his time to the training of native teachers and preachers. The school established was more of a normal school, or seminary for the higher education of the brightest of the Indian youths, than an ordinary school.

Eliot's civil organization of the town was based on the Mosaic Code, or on the modification of it that was used in the governing of England in King Alfred's time. Tens, or their multiple, were the foundation of the divisions and their officials; there was chosen the ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty, and a number of leaders of tens. Tithingmen were appointed, who in turn elected one of their number to be their ruler. Fast days were established, and a solemn covenant to live according to the commands of the Most High, entered upon. Fuller details of the town and its government and later history are given in Chapter II of this work. The Indian town eventually controlled a number of thousand acres; money was contributed to its support from both England and New England. Every effort of the truly great Eliot was made to push this experiment in the Christianizing of the Indian to a successful conclusion. The settlement seems to have prospered up to 1675, but at the most the Natick settlement never exceeded 300 in population, or the total number of Praying Indians more than ten times this amount. With King Philip's out-break in 1675, the beginning of the end began, and before Eliot's death in 1690 the end had almost come; by the end of the century, Natick was practically an English town. The Natick Indian church was not formally organized until 1660, and contineud to exist after a fashion for nearly a century, missionaries being sent to it for most of this time.

Such is the brief story of the first Indian church and town, a story of a great effort with a meagre success. It stands out as the main, one might say, only endeavor on the part of the Puritans to carry out the intention expressed in the charter before coming to this country "the propagation and advancing of the gospel . . in these remote parts of the world." Or, as expressed by Governor Cradock in 1629, "Be not unmindful of the main end of our plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the Gospel." Or, again, there is the order of 1644 that the county courts should "take care that the Indian residents in the several shires should be civilized and instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."

Perhaps the task was too great to be borne by a people that were having difficulty to survive, to whom the Indian was one of the ever-present menaces.

The greatest work of John Eliot was not his church and town, not his teaching of governmental reforms, but the translation which he made of the entire Bible into the native vernacular. Without even an alphabet, a scrap of Indian writing or literature, with only a very limited number of words for common things, spoken by the native, one of the marvels of his life is that he could and did render the Bible into the Indian. Belated honors have been paid to the "Apostle to the Indian";

there is a church which bears his name, and is a memorial to Eliot and his son, in Newtown; there are memorial windows in Memorial Hall at Harvard. Perhaps the best tribute paid to his memory in words is that spoken by Edward Everett: "Since the death of Paul a nobler and warmer spirit never lived than John Eliot. And taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the history of the Christian Church does not contain an example of untiring successful labor superior to that of translating the entire scriptures into the native languages of the tribes of Massachusetts—a labor performed, not in the flush of youth, nor amid the luxurious abodes of academic lore, but under the constant burden of his labors as a minister and preacher and at a time of life when the spirits begin to flag."

Turning from the stories of these three early unique religious societies, what follows in this chapter is a historical directory, in brief, of the rise of the present churches in the county.

**Acton,** now as always, an agricultural town, was set up as a town in 1735, so that the community might have a place of worship. The First Parish Church was organized at that time, but it took eleven years to complete the house. Congregationalism started here in 1832, and Universalism in 1821; the Baptist setting up their church in 1846.

**Arlington,** in the region of which the first land was granted in 1635, was established as the Second Parish of Cambridge nearly a century later, 1732. A meeting-house was built two years later but the first pastor was not secured until 1739. One of the first Baptist churches was formed in Cambridge in 1751, and secured a location for a church in Arlington thirty years later. The Universalists date their organization from 1830; the Orthodox Congregational church from 1842; the Saint Agnes Catholic Church from 1870; the Saint John's Episcopal Church from 1875. Other denominations came to Arlington at more recent periods.

**Ashby** was one of the far frontier towns prior to the Revolution with very few settlers until after 1750, and set up as a town in 1767. One of the first provisions of the new town was "to hire preaching," but there seems to have been no formal church organized until some years later. In 1820, doctrinal differences led to the separation from the membership of a number who formed the Orthodox Congregational body.

**Ashland** had for its first church a Congregational society, established in 1835, which is now known as the First Parish Church. The Methodist

church in the town started in 1868; the Baptist, in 1843; the Catholic in 1858.

**Ayer,** next to the last of the incorporated towns in the county, is unlike the most of the towns in not being the result of any religious movement. The Adventists seem to have been first on the field. 18[illegible], the Baptists coming next in 1853, and the Unitarian church as a Union church, in 1855. A Catholic Mission was founded in 1855, and in 1861 the Congregationalists were organized.

**Bedford,** a rural town, erected in 1729, had a meeting-house almost completed at the time of the incorporation, the first home of the present First Parish. In 1831 the Trinitarian Society, on off-shoot of this was founded. The Catholics built a chapel in 1885.

**Belmont,** incorporated in 1859, did not have a local church until 1857, Congregational. The Waverly Congregational Church dates from 1861; the Episcopal Church, from the All Saints' Guild formed in 1887; the Catholic first church was dedicated in 1889.

**Billerica,** settled as early as 1645, built its first crude meeting-house in 1659, although the Parish Church was not formed until several years later. This Society became Unitarian in 1829, the Orthodox Congregationalists building a new church in 1830. Meanwhile, 1828, the Baptists had organized, and the Universalists in 1842.

**Boxborough,** in population and size almost the smallest of the Middlesex towns was not incorporated until 1783. Its erection grew out of a controversy over a Harvard Church which had been purchased for removal to this district. This church, the meeting-house of the First Parish Society, was still incomplete at the time of the incorporation of Boxborough. The Evangelical Congregationalists organized in 1829. The Methodists had a church in the town as early as 1763, but only by accident since the intention had been to build in Harvard, but a lack of knowledge of the township lines led them to place the building in Boxborough.

**Burlington** was formed in 1799, because people of the district wanted to be set off from the Woburn church so as to have a meeting-house nearer their homes. The original edifice was built in 1745, and was preserved in its original form until 1846, when it was re-modeled.

**Carlisle** was first set up as a precinct, or district, in 1753-54, for the purpose of founding a church, but on finding that a meeting-house and preaching cost more than they cared to pay, tried to creep back into the town of Concord. In 1781 the First Parish Church was organized, although a meeting-house had been built twenty years previously. It

CHELMSFORD—FIRST PARISH MEETING HOUSE, ERECTED IN 1842. THIS IS THE FOURTH CHURCH ON THIS SITE; THE FIRST ERECTED IN 1660

ALL SAINTS CHURCH, CHELMSFORD CENTRE, CORNERSTONE LAID IN 1879

is now Unitarian, the Calvinistic Congregationalist body being an offshoot in 1830.

**Chelmsford,** established as "common land" in 1655, had a meeting-house and pastor in 1655, a John Fisk who brought most of his congregation with him, a not unusual procedure. The early organization was the Town Church for more than a century, the first rival being the Baptist body formed in 1771, at South Chelmsford. The Central Baptists organized in 1847; The Trinitarian Congregationalists separating from the mother church and building in 1824, moving to North Chelmsford in 1836. Saint Anne's Episcopal dates from 1824; Saint John's (Catholic), 1860; Orthodox Congregationalists, 1876; Methodists, 1871, other churches being of the present century.

**Concord,** "Birthplace of American Liberty," was a part of the Cambridge Church parish from 1635, a church being organized for Concord in 1636, of which Peter Buckley was pastor. Concord as the first inland town, was the mother of many other places, which prevented for more than a century the organization of any other church.

**Dracut** seems to have formed its first church in 1721 although efforts had been made to build a meeting-house a decade earlier. This was the Central Church which became Unitarian in 1830.

**Dunstable,** a border town of both State and County, suffered such a set-back during the Indian wars as to break the line of its first church founded in 1673. It was of this that the verse was written:

A very small meeting-house,
A very tall steeple,
A very proud minister,
A queer sort of People.

**Everett,** as a part of Malden, had their first Parish church in 1730, building a meeting-house four years later on Belmont Hill. The only other religious organization antedating the incorporation of the town, was that of the Universalists, 1865. Saint Mary's Catholic Church was added to the number in 1878. At the time of the receiving of the city charter, Everett had ten churches.

**Framingham's** First Parish Church was established shortly before its incorporation in 1700. The Baptists were the next to organize, then the Methodists in 1788 (as a society, 1833), Universalists in 1829, St. George's (Catholic) in 1844 at Saxonville, the St. Bridget's Parish dating from 1877; St. John's Episcopal, 1860; Methodist Episcopal of South Framingham, 1869; Second Congregational Church of South Framingham, 1873; and the South Framingham Presbyterian Church, 1888.

**Groton** built its first meeting-house in 1666, but this was burned with the town by the Indians ten years later. Rebuilt, the new house was the home of the First Parish thereafter, the Union Congregational Church being an offshoot in 1827. Baptists were first represented here in 1832, Methodists in 1885, Episcopal, St. John's, the same year, although the first separate chapel was not dedicated until 1888.

**Holliston** separated from Sherborn for the purpose of having a distinct congregational life in 1724. The church, Congregational, erected the next year, was the only place of worship in the town for a century. The Methodist Church dates from 1831, Universalists from 1836, Baptist from 1860, Catholic from 1867.

**Hopkinton** established its First Parish Church after the incorporation of the town, 1715, not until 1725, in fact. The Church of England was represented in Hopkinton in 1745, a small chapel being built by a rector of King's Chapel, Boston. The first Methodist Church was erected in 1865, and as early as 1846 the town was a part of the Catholic Parish of Milford. As a separate entity, the Catholic body dates from 1877.

**Hudson**, although of comparatively recent origin, 1866, has a number of churches. The Baptists were first in 1851; the Methodists began regular services in 1865; the Unitarians started in 1854; St. Michael's Catholic Church was built in 1889. The Congregationalists dedicated their place of worship in 1902, and the St. Luke's Episcopal built in 1913.

**Lexington** was set up as a parish in 1791 to care for the church built in 1713 on the now historic common. This society became Unitarian in polity in 1845, and is the mother of the East Lexington Church. The Baptist body was formed in 1833; the Second Congregational in 1835; the First Universalist in 1845, although having a meeting-house in 1840. The last two mentioned joined hands as the Follen Church in 1886. Hancock Memorial Church dates from 1868; Church of the Redeemer, Episcopal, 1883; the Catholic Church from 1865 as a mission, as a church, from 1886.

**Lincoln** built its First Parish Church in 1747, the formal organization being perfected on August 12 of that year. The Weston Methodist Church, founded in 1798, has served those of that denomination in Lincoln for many years. In 1841 the Unitarian Society was formed, and in 1873 the Episcopalians organized.

**Littleton's** first church, if so it may be called, was one founded by John Eliot and his "Praying Indians" in 1652. As a town, Littleton was set up to care for the meeting-house of the Parish started in 1714 but not completed until 1723. A hundred years later, 1822, the Baptists

LOWELL CHURCHES

1. Church of the Immaculate Conception (Roman Catholic). 2. St. Anne's (Episcopal). 3. Grace Universalist. 4 First Baptist.

organized. About 1840, three churches came into being, the Millerite, Universalist and Orthodox Congregationalist; of these only the latter mentioned survived.

**Lowell,** built on the home site secured to the Pawtucket Indians by John Eliot in 1653, was set off to "Inhabitants of Woburn and Concord . . . for a comfortable place to accommodate God's people." It was not until 1826 that anything more than a little hamlet was located here, the church history of the town dating from this later time. Saint Anne's Catholic Church was established in 1825, the Baptist and Congregational Churches in 1826, the Universalist Church coming a year later. By 1836 there were thirteen churches in Lowell, four Congregational, two Baptist, one each Episcopal, Universalist, Christian Union, Free Will Baptist and Catholic. Further notes on the ecclesiastical history of Lowell may be found in the local history of that city.

**Malden,** in preparation for a church organization, was made "a distinct toune . . . Maulden" in 1649, and the date of the First Parish Church of Malden is supposed to be about May 11, 1649. Daughters of this church were the Congregational body of North Malden, now Melrose, 1849; Winthrop Church, now in Everett, 1848; First Congregational Church of Maplewood, 1873; Union Congregational of Linden, 1876. The First Baptist Church was organized in 1803; First Baptist of Maplewood, 1886. The Centre Methodist Church dates 1820, building five years later; Maplewood Methodist Church, 1857, although preaching by Methodists was begun in 1840; Belmont Methodist, 1888. The first Universalist society was founded in 1828; St. Paul's Episcopal, in 1861; First Unitarian Congregational, 1875; Faulkner, 1883.

**Marlborough** had its first meeting-house, built in 1659, burned in King Philip's raid of 1676, and replaced the same year. This First Parish became known later, 1835, as the Union Church, when the division of 1808 was healed. Most of the other churches were established in the nineteenth century; Methodist in 1821, although denominational preaching had been held as early as 1798; Universalist, 1825; Catholic, 1851; Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, 1887.

**Maynard,** the third smallest of the Middlesex towns, worshipped in Sudbury and Stow until 1852, when the Union Congregational Church was established. In 1867, the Methodists organized; Saint Bridget's in 1871, although mass had been said since 1857; Saint George's Episcopal, in 1894; Finnish Lutheran, 1910; Finnish Congregational, 1913; and the Russian Orthodox in 1917.

**Medford,** as a plantation, was officially recognized in 1630, and had a minister in 1634, but the First Parish Church dates from 1696. Seceding

members of this society formed the Second Congregational body in 1823, and from this came the Third Congregational Church in 1847 which in 1874 was consolidated with the Second. The Universalists organized in 1831; the Methodists in 1828; the First Baptists in 1842; Grace Episcopal in 1848; and the Catholics in 1876. In West Medford, the Congregational and Trinity Methodist churches were established in 1872.

**Melrose**, settled later, had for its first church the Methodist, founded in 1815; a separating group established the Protestant society in 1828. These joined the Baptist Church, established 1856. The Orthodox Congregationalists organized in 1848; First Universalist, 1849; Trinity Episcopal, 1856; Unitarian, 1869; Catholic, 1873. These are but the first established of the half hundred religious societies of Melrose.

**Natick's** Indian church has been mentioned at length. The Centre Parish Church of 1798 was practically white in membership. Baptists entered the town in 1848, organizing a year later. Methodists erected a church in 1877, although formed in 1871. The Catholics had their first building in 1860. The First Universalist Church was founded in 1879. The Unitarian Church is located almost on the spot where stood Eliot's church of 1651.

**Newton**, the modern, with its many churches separated from Cambridge in 1656 because the village did not care to be taxed for a church so far away as that town, although this separation was not legalized until 1691. The First Parish Church was built in 1664, and the congregation formally organized at this time; of this John Eliot, Jr., son of the "Apostle" was the first pastor. The birthdays of many of Newton's churches can be found in the town history. Two religious events of more than local interest were the organizing of a Baptist Church in 1780, and the founding of Newton Baptist Theological Seminary on October 28, 1825. The church was one of the first to be founded in any of the inland towns, and the Seminary was the first of its denomination in the United States.

**North Reading** became the North Parish of Reading in 1713, and the First Parish church was organized the next year. The Baptist Church was organized in 1817, but did not build until 1828.

**Pepperell's** Congregational Church was established in 1746, although a place of worship had been started the year before, but was never finished. Joseph Emerson, the pastor for thirty years, had more than a local fame and influence. The Second Parish was organized in 1832; the Methodist Church in 1873, with a "class" as early as 1855; Catholic in 1871.

**Reading's** first Congregational Church was founded prior to 1644.

The Old South Church was its successor, but now is Methodist. The Congregational Church was originally the Bethesda in 1849. A Baptist Church was built in 1880; a Unitarian in 1871; the St. Agnes, Catholic, in 1880.

**Sherborn** built its First Parish Church on the site of the present one in 1684. No other churches were formed until 1830, when both the Methodist and the Second Parish Churches were organized.

**Shirley**'s first church was erected in 1754, and served both town and parish until 1839, when doctrinal differences led to the establishment of the Trinitarian body. The Shakers formed a community in Sherborn in 1781. A Universalist Church was organized in 1812; the First Congregational Society in 1822; the Trinitarian Congregationlist was started in 1828; and the Baptists date from 1853.

**Somerville**'s many churches were founded as follows: First Congregational, 1844; Perkins Street Baptist, 1845; Orthodox Congregational, 1853; First Baptist, 1852; Free Will Baptist, 1874; Union Baptist, 1885; West Somerville Baptist, 1874; Winter Hill Baptist, 1881; Broadway Congregationalist, 1864; Prospect Hill Congregational, 1883; Emmanuel Episcopal, 1870; St. Thomas, 1870; St. Ann's Catholic, 1881; St. Joseph's Catholic, 1874; First Methodist, 1856; Broadway Methodist, 1873; Flint Street Methodist, 1868; Park Street Methodist, 1880; Union Square Presbyterian, 1887; First Universalist, 1853; Winter Hill Universalist, 1879; Third Universalist, 1881. Of more recent origin are churches of nearly every denomination.

**Stoneham** organized the First Parish Church in 1729. From this body came the Universalist Church of 1825, a rather unusual result of the religious controversy in the Congregational Church of that time. In 1868 the Unitarians and Universalists combined forces and built the Union Church. Methodists came to Stoneham in 1856; Baptists in 1870, and Catholics in 1868.

**Stow** came to be with the First Parish Church in 1683. The First Parish Unitarian was formed in 1832, the Orthodox Congregationalists organized in 1839; the Rockbottom Methodist Church in 1852.

**Sudbury,** the second of the inland towns to be settled, 1638, and incorporated the next year, was organized to care for the church established at this time. Churches, other than the First Parish, were founded; the Methodist, 1823; Evangelical Union, 1839.

**Tewksbury** was incorporated in 1734 so as to have a church, which was built the next year; a church society was organized in 1736, the First Parish. This Congregational Church was the only one in the town until 1843, when the Baptists organized and built.

**Townsend** founded a Parish Church in 1729. In 1826 this became Unitarian in faith, the orthodox members separating and building in 1830. The Baptists came to Townsend in 1834.

**Tyngsborough** is another of the Congregational church founded towns, it becoming a separate parish with a church in 1809. A Baptist society was established in 1836; a Universalist Church was formed in 1840 but died in 1882; and the Evangelical Church was founded in 1889.

**Wakefield** had for its first public building a place of worship, the home of the Congregational society, organized in 1644. The dates of the organization of the other religious bodies in the town are: Baptist, 1797; Universalist, 1813; Catholic, 1854; Methodist, 1874; Emmanuel, 1869; Greenwood Congregational, 1873. There are now four other churches in the town, formed mostly in this century.

**Waltham** was incorporated with a population of about 500 in 1738, having at that time but one church, the one that led to its separation in 1693, which subsequently became the First Church of Waltham. The first Episcopal Church was founded in 1848, Christ Church; the Methodist Church in 1820; Trinity Congregational in 1820; the Catholic Church in 1830; Baptist in 1852; and the Universalist in 1837. Waltham has now two Catholic churches for English-speaking parishioners, and a French and Italian parish for those of these races. There are also, two Methodist, two Episcopal churches, and one each of the Unitarian, Universalist, Swedish Congregational, Swedish Lutheran, Presbyterian, and the Union Evangelical.

**Watertown** churches are: First Parish Unitarian, founded 1630, of which mention has been made; First Baptist, organized in 1830; Belmont Street Baptist; Phillips Congregational, 1855; St. John's Methodist, 1836; Church of the Good Shepherd, 1885; Church of the Sacred Heart, Roman Catholic; St. Patrick's, Catholic, 1847; Union (non-sectarian).

**Wayland** organized the First Parish Church in 1640.

**Westford,** the largest in the area of Middlesex towns, was the outgrowth of a religious movement, which also led to the founding of the Parish Church in 1727. From this came the Union Congregational Society in 1828. The Methodist Church dates from 1856, although no church was organized until 1869.

**Weston** evidently had no Parish Church until 1709, although settled much earlier. Beside the original church there have been founded: The Baptist in 1776, organized in 1789; the Methodist, in 1794; Episcopal and Catholic.

**Wilmington**'s churches are: The First Parish, organized in 1733; Methodist, 1832; Catholic, 1887; Free Will Baptist, 1840.

**Winchester** is unusual in that there were a mill and residents two hundred years before there was any religious organization. The South Congregational Church dates from 1840; the First Baptist, from 1852; the Unitarian, from 1865; the Methodist, from 1872; St. Mary's Catholic, 1873; Church of the Epiphany, 1882; Highland Bethany, 1886.

**Woburn** churches and the dates of their founding are: First Congregational, 1640; from this mother church have gone out churches to Wilmington, 1733; Burlington, 1735; Winchester First, 1840; North Woburn, 1849, and Montvale, 1892; The First Baptist, 1781; Woburn Methodist, 1851; St. Charles' Catholic, 1853; St. Joseph's Catholic, 1906.